SOCIAL LIFE & INSTITUTIONS

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SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

AN ELEMENTARY STUDY OF SOCIETY

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Social tendencies, both national and international, are demanding the intelligent attention of citizen and student as they have never done before. And though our periodicals teem with special articles on phases of sociology, authoritative texts on the entire subject, not too technical and with no bias for some particular social cure-all, are scarce. It was to meet the need for such a text that Professor Hart prepared this book. It was his purpose, in writing it, to present the main outlines of social evolution, to indicate the forces and movements that are operative today, to suggest future possibilities, and to inspire reader and student to a higher degree of social-mindedness. In publishing such a book on a subject the essence of which is study for the promotion of human welfare, World Book Company believes that it has once more justified its motto, "Books that apply the world's knowledge to the world's needs"

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A FIRST draft of the manuscript of this book was written in 1920, with Miss Adelaide E. Morey (now Mrs. Carlyle Kellogg, of Wenatchee, Washington) as co-author. Business conditions made its issuance at that time impracticable. Since then, under the impact of social developments round the world, the materials have been recast and the text entirely rewritten. Intervening circumstances have kept Miss Morey from having any share in this rewriting. Hence, in deference to her own wish in the matter, her name does not appear on the title page; but evidence of her share in the original project appears on all the other pages of the book.

The manuscript of the book was given a thorough reading by Dr. David Snedden, professor of Education, Columbia University, Dr. Edward Alsworth Ross, professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, and Dr. Hutton Webster, professor of Social Anthropology, University of Nebraska. From their full and frank comments and criticisms the author has derived great benefit. Expressions of appreciation are likewise due to Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University, and to Mrs. Mary Morse, formerly teacher of Social Sciences, the Julia Richman High School, New York City, who gave the proofs a critical reading. The author has been glad to act upon the many useful suggestions made by these scholars and teachers.

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SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

ARGUMENT OF THIS BOOK

THIS book is an introduction to the study of society. Part I looks at society from the standpoint of its development and its organization. Part II considers society from the standpoint of its problems, its tasks, and its promises. We are in the midst of history — between the past and the future. The world's work is not all done. The problems that remain are not all hopeless.

PART I

Chapters One and Two consider the raw materials out of which society is made: The differences and likenesses of people.

Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six show us the simplest forms in which social organization exists: The variety of group activities.

Chapters Seven and Eight exhibit the more complicated developments which society undergoes as population increases; while Chapter Nine attempts to make these developments concrete by illustrating both the goods and the ills in a single social area.

Chapter Ten asks the student to generalize these results by applying the same illustrative method to the whole range of social life, with all its goods and evils. This chapter marks the climax of our approach to the field of society; it offers us a vantage ground from which we may view the entire modern world.

Continuing but narrowing our study somewhat now, Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen select from this

field of society certain problems of industry for special consideration; these chapters show the relationships of the economic factors to group and individual living. This discussion raises the whole problem of the understanding and control of social conditions.

Chapter Fourteen shows how the principle of control is used in narrower areas, and suggests its application to social organization.

Chapter Fifteen shows what the principle of control would mean if generalized into the concept of science, especially the social sciences. And Chapter Sixteen, ending Part I, suggests what would have to be dealt with in the actual application of a scientific technique to the field of social organization; it also suggests the results that might be expected from the application of such a technique.

PART II

Chapter Seventeen, beginning Part II, asks the student to consider whether or not he is interested in progress, and what such an interest implies both for himself and for society. Assuming that social problems exist and that progress in their solution is possible, Chapters Eighteen, Nineteen, Twenty, and Twenty-one discuss the relationships of the family, the church, the state, and the school to progress. These institutions (with industry, discussed in Chapter Eleven) are our most firmly established instruments of control.

But the few institutions so far discussed are not the whole of society. Chapter Twenty-two deals with certain important areas of our living which are very real, but as yet almost wholly unorganized. Chapter Twenty-

three exhibits factors of a still more fundamental character which are also not yet absorbed into our general social organization in any complete and constructive way.

Chapters Twenty-four and Twenty-five show how individuals and groups break down under the strains of modern living, and what monstrous wastes, both of persons and of goods, occur because our understanding of life is not yet adequate to its complete control.

Chapter Twenty-six raises the question whether America, or indeed any single nation, can solve even its own internal problems without taking into account the other peoples of the world.

Chapters Twenty-seven, Twenty-eight, and Twenty-nine discuss the meanings, problems, and values in a national and international program of democracy, such as America has professed itself to be working out.

Chapter Thirty purports to show that no local problem can be understood from a narrowly local point of view; that the student must rise above local prejudices and look at humanity and its problems from the point of view of a citizen of the world.

Chapter Thirty-one sets before the student a few of the major social problems, national and international, which are now calling for social attention and challenging the inventive intelligence of the student and the citizen. And Chapter Thirty-two, ending the study, sets before the student a considerable array of movements, national and international, by means of which individuals and groups are trying to solve our social problems. These movements are the pioneering social efforts of the race, today. Each student will probably

find his sympathies enlisted in the direction of one or more of them, as he finishes this study. This will be a desirable result: the study of society will prepare him for enlistment in some one of the worthy social causes of the present and the future.

The author hopes that by the time the student has come through the varied windings of this argument, reënforcing it and criticizing it by means of facts all along the way, he will find himself interested in some fundamental social task or problem, ready to join hands with some congenial and stimulating group in an effort to understand, and so to help guide society to intelligent and socially justifiable objectives.

PART ONE

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

CHAPTER ONE

Individual Differences

How often have we said of some acquaintance, " He is the most peculiar fellow ! " We have sensed a certain difference from the common run in him and we have resented that difference. We have been puzzled, times without number, over an unexpected decision or a quick change of front on the part of friends or associates. We do not like to have people change their minds. We are inclined to call such people disagreeable. Moreover, we have moments, either of defeat or of achievement, when we suddenly see ourselves objectively and exclaim, " I had no idea I was that kind of person ! " But few of us ever examine such experiences to determine the causes of our surprise. If we were to do so, we should surely find that we are all peculiar beings, in the sense that we are all different from one another. There is nothing so uninteresting as monotony, whether of events or of people. Yet, for all that, we cling to the old saying that " all people are pretty much alike."

Nature's provisions for variety. Now, while that doctrine expresses some truth, it does not express the whole truth. If we try to understand the world we live in, we discover the fact — although it is a fact that we largely ignore until our attention has been especially called to it — that there are wide differences in the physical, mental, social, and spiritual characteristics of individuals. Nature is not afraid of variety, though people seem to be. Nature has taken great precautions

to assure variety in all her products, and especially among human beings. No two individuals of any species, whether plant, animal, or man, are ever exactly alike. Scientists declare that the chances that any two children even of the same parents will be exactly alike are in the ratio of one to about five hundred thousand. And, of course, there are no chances at all that children of different parents will be alike. Nature seems determined that the world and life shall not be destroyed through that sheer lack of interest which would result from complete monotony.

How individuals differ. In any considerable group of persons, physical differences are easily recognized. We distinguish between the heavy-set individual and the " bean pole " type. Difference of sex, emphasized by differences in dress, is an interesting fact. Most persons notice differences in the color and complexion of their associates, and some always remember the color of the eyes of their friends. But beyond these rather obvious facts are some that are not so obvious. For example, the length of life varies greatly among human beings; and it varies still more widely in the whole range of living things. A bacterium may live but a single hour, while the big redwood trees of California may live six thousand years, a span of life long enough to include within its scope all the ages of recorded human history. " Men's little lives " lie somewhere between the brief career of the bacterium and the long story of the big tree.

If we observe men and women in action, we can group them in classes ranging all the way from the energetic to the sluggish; from the highly skilled to the awkward

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 1. The illustrations in Chapter One show various types of individuals and groups, various national and social customs, and various levels of civilization. The primitive farmers and artificers shown above are Maya Indians of Yucatan.

and bungling; from the active to the lazy; from the strong to the sickly; from the well-developed to the deformed; from the graceful to the slouchy and frumpy; from the animated to the stolid; from the tireless to the person who " plays out " at the start.

Vocational differences. Quite as striking are the likes and dislikes of people in regard to vocations. One of the earliest problems of young people is the choice of a vocation. " What are you going to be when you grow up? " In small communities, where the range of work is narrow, the answer to that question is usually simple — too simple, perhaps, to be satisfactory. But in the city, where hundreds of different types of work may be seen or heard about, the answer to that question becomes more difficult. One boy wants to be a railroad engineer; another wants to be a lawyer. Can any

one tell why? Or is it as mysterious as the reason why one person's eyes are blue and another's brown? Young men and women face great ranges of possible choices, and each one faces those ranges of choice in his own individual way with whatever of interest, or knowledge and help he can secure. And later, these workers show characteristics which range all the way from permanent purpose to some temporary impulse; from ambition to lazy self-satisfaction; from persistence to vacillation; from industriousness to dilatoriness; from thrift to wastefulness; from care to slovenliness; from the effective to the haphazard; from foresight to heedlessness; from the adaptable to the unchanging; from intelligent interest to utter carelessness.

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FIG. 2. Two boys in the Solomon Islands wearing high grass hats to show that they are not yet old enough to marry.

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 3. This group of three Mali Indians from Costa Rica shows three types of faces, though otherwise the three are much alike.

Mental differences. The existence of feeble-minded individuals has long been known. Idiots and imbeciles could hardly escape notice. Also the insane are obvious; and we have heard of the genius. But "common people," too, are now known to show very wide differences. The mental tests given to the soldiers in the late war revealed surprising differences of mental character. Some individuals were rejected for feeble-mindedness; others were selected for important duties and responsibilities on the basis of the showing they made in the tests. Certain mental differences are not obvious; they can only be discovered by means of psychological tests. For example, some individuals learn most readily through their eyes; others through

their ears. Others must always use the sense of touch. Differences among artists may be accounted for partly by differences in their sense impressions and their sensitivity to the world about them.

For differences of taste, there is, of course, no accounting. We remember Jack Spratt and his wife. Fashion may interfere with taste. When we turn to clothes, we find the streets mostly dull, with an occasional touch of color. Our homes show astonishing differences in furnishings, books, pictures, and music. The wide variety of " shows " in the city illustrates the ranges of taste of the multitudes of playgoers. " It takes all kinds of people to make a world." We say such things; but we do not always like to have so many kinds about us.

Differences in disposition. We have all noticed dissimilarities in people in the matter of fear and courage. We speak of the individual with the " yellow streak," and of the sort who is " all man." Language is full of these descriptive terms; indeed, most of our adjectives exist just for the purpose of emphasizing distinctions and variations. We speak of the bully, the egotist, the coward, the patient, the irritable, the reverent, the irresponsible, the prejudiced, the observant, the alert, the superficial, the inquisitive, the suspicious, the judicious, the sneaking, the honorable, the snobbish, the boorish, the generous, the jealous, the sociable, the affected, the good sportsman, and so on. Frequently, indeed, some striking characteristic identifies an individual for us and for history; for example, Charles the Fat, and Richard the Lion-Hearted.

People differ also in their attachments to churches,

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FIG. 4. You cannot beat the Dutch for picturesqueness. These are two country girls of Holland. Their costumes have been the fashion in some districts in Holland for a century or more.

political parties, fraternal orders, social groups, and the like. These differences are not, of course, as permanent as that between blue and brown eyes. They have been determined by the surroundings of the individual, by his home, his friends, his "set," as well as by his inherited tastes and abilities.

Differences which are the result of ages of varied environments are much more striking. The most superficial observer sees a difference between a Negro and a white man. Differences also appear among the Asiatic peoples — for instance, the Chinese, the Japa-

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 5. China alone furnishes innumerable types. Here are two strong faces from among the rivermen of the Yangtzse.

nese, the Hindus are all different. A striking difference between the immigrants from northern and from southern Europe appears in their color. But along with differences arising from climate and racial differences we find, if we investigate, striking variations in customs, manners, experience, industry, education in general. We also find contrasts in tastes, habits, modes of thought and action, some of which are so great as to occasion our dislike. When we have reached this stage of dislike, we find it fairly easy to set up reasons for avoiding those who are different from ourselves.

Why study these facts? But the student may ask, "Why should I pay any attention to these things? After all, people *are* pretty much alike." The answer is that we must face facts, if we are to understand the world and have a real place in it. Statesmen and business executives multiply their powers a hundredfold by a wise choice and skillful guidance of subordinates. Salesmen must constantly sense the peculiar characteristics of each prospective buyer to obtain his good

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FIG. 6. Palestine is now the home of many strangely mingled types, with customs and costumes dating from distant times. Here are a mother and her daughters, of Bethlehem.

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Fig. 7. Young people from Rossatz, on the Danube. These are not fancy dress costumes, but are the ordinary clothes of young people, at least in the days before the war.

will — and his order. Diplomats must understand the nature of the men with whom they confer, if they are to work out effective policies and secure the peace of nations. There are actors and authors and sculptors who succeed in portraying individuals, and in making them understandable and immortal. Any vocation can be enriched by the study of individuals, their likes and

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 8. A picturesque old Tyrolese guide wearing his mountain-climbing costume, which includes a neat fur cap with a feather in it.

dislikes, their moods, weaknesses, heroisms, ambitions, affections, fears, superstitions, loyalties, and capabilities.

As a matter of fact, this study of differences is the very substance of knowledge. The stupid mind dislikes variety. Variety wearies the lazy mind. If we could reduce all things to one thing, we should be able to go to sleep. When a slang phrase or word tends

to monopolize our speech; when we call everything "fierce" or "the limit," we are escaping from clear distinctions of perception and of thought into a sort of stupidity that knows no distinctions and needs none. But how completely such an outcome would destroy the richness, the beauty, and the joy of life!

What is literature? Our great literatures are very largely made up of striking pictures of individuals. Great authors excel in their drawings of picturesque persons, of all ages and of every rank and station. See them pass across the pages of history, romance, the novel, and the epic poem: kings, scoundrels, jesters, grave-diggers quoting philosophy, pompous judges, braggarts, children, drunkards, murderers, traitors, fools and knaves, the merciful and the scornful, noble women, high-minded men — people of every sort and description. See them of every age: playful and quarrelsome children; whining schoolboys; youths and maidens; lovers; soldiers "full of strange oaths"; dignified business men; old age; "the lean and slippered pantaloon"; second childhood. What infinite variety!

The spirit of all great literature shows a genuine human interest in everything that concerns the lives of men. As a Roman poet expressed it: "Nothing human is alien to me." Or, as Wordsworth phrased it: "He who feels contempt for any living thing hath faculties that he hath never used."

History is interesting to us just to the extent that we can see men and women and children with passions like our own working, planning, fighting, achieving through the long ages. Geography is a vital study to one who

sees the earth as the home of many types of men; and that through all the ranges of climate, land forms, and tribal relationships, the ways in which men find it possible to live differ from place to place, as conditions differ. It seems almost impossible that the African jungles, with their strange types of tropic life, including the native human beings, can exist but a few thousands of miles from the frozen fastnesses of the Arctic which can support nothing but the cramped life of the Eskimo.

Differences in a democracy. As long as men lived under old tyrannical forms of government, they had little chance to develop and to express their individual differences. A tyrannical government finds control difficult unless it can classify all the people in a few simple groups, such as serfs and nobles. The type of mind that insists upon classifying people without regard to their native characteristics may be called a tyrant mind. Democracy cannot exist where such governments control or such minds operate. Democracy wants every individual to have a chance to develop his powers of work and appreciation and understanding and his capacity to get along with the multitudes of other individuals who have the same sort of development. Democracy in government requires that those who govern escape from the old tyrant types of mind and come to understand and to desire the wonderful variety of types of which humanity seems capable in freedom.

Democratic social organization is impossible, unless all those who belong to the community have understanding, appreciation, and tolerance; unless they see in natural varieties and types the expression of beauty and the opportunity for a more interesting world.

Democracy offers new relationships, new vocations, new responsibilities. Individuals discover new possibilities of social action, and realize hitherto unsuspected ranges of human living. These new developments arise out of individual variability; they can be preserved only as we recognize individual variation, desire it, treasure it, and give it place in our social order and in our thinking. Democracy is the expression of the importance of the individual. As men once talked about the "divine right of kings," we now talk about the "divine rights of every individual." This sort of talk can, of course, be overdone; it has been overdone by some who consider themselves superior to the law. But while some go too far and claim rights that should not be theirs, others are too weak to assert their rights. Some are born in poverty, in misery, in the midst of vice; some in ill health, with defective mentalities and evil dispositions. Some have, by birth, a magnificent array of talents, and fortune gives them all the chances the earth affords. The race is made up of individuals, with a wonderful variety of native and acquired characteristics. Some need help from society more than others; some need large opportunity for work. But society needs them all (except the defectives); for each is an individual, a unique person, unlike any other who has ever lived or ever will live. Society needs them all and they all need society.

The natural bases of individual differences. We may be inclined to ask whether differences among individuals are real and natural; whether, if they are not, we should attempt to preserve them; and whether, if they are, we should emphasize them, or consider them unim-

portant. As for their reality, we may be assured that these variations in human personality are rooted deep either in heredity, or in the diverse environments in which human beings live. No two individuals have the same environment; and, as we have seen, no two individuals have the same inherited endowment. Certain elements of our common human nature tend to hold us together in groups, as we shall shortly see; but other elements tend to emphasize individual differences and to make group life more or less precarious. For example, all normal individuals possess, in varying degrees, the primitive fighting instinct. This does not mean that all will engage in physical combat; though, even in our civilized life, the majority of people still get a good deal of fun out of contests of one sort or another, and we all feel the undercurrents of the fighting instinct, at least with reference to situations we should like to make over. Social reformers have a good deal of this fighting interest, even though most of them are opposed to war. They experience the joy of battle in fighting obstacles to progress.

Another phase of human nature is what is called by some the predatory instinct. Predatory animals prey upon their environment, seizing what they need. This adjective, as applied to human beings, was used by President Roosevelt in his celebrated phrase, "predatory plutocrat," descriptive of a certain type of plundering business man. There is a popular impression that this type of individual has been dominant in much of our business life in the last twenty years; during the war such individuals were usually referred to as profiteers.

There is also the self-assertive aspect of human nature, which makes some individuals attempt to assume superiority over others. A combination of parts of these three instinctive elements with other elements, perhaps, has made the popular hero of much of our movie fiction and our western romance, the fighting pioneer, who takes whatever he wants, who is perfectly self-sufficient wherever he finds himself, who fights at the drop of a hat, though he usually shows his humanity by being very kind to the helpless. We can easily see that these characteristics might be combined in another individual in such ways as to make him either a terror to his community, a monster of vice, a social menace, a good-for-nothing, a philanthropist, or a great statesman.

There are many other elements in human nature; we shall study them at a later time. Here we are trying to see that variety is real. Men and women are not merely what they choose to be. The doctrine that any one can be anything he chooses to be has very real limits. In some measure, men are what nature has chosen to make them, and what the social order permits them to become. This does not mean that they have no responsibility to the community or to themselves. It does mean that individuals are very complex, very difficult to understand, but very interesting and well worth any effort that we may have to make in order to understand them. The modern world is extremely complicated. Once, men lived by a single occupation — hunting and fishing. And all the activities of individuals and tribes gathered about that single vocation. Now, we are told that American life has

developed more than thirteen thousand vocations, each requiring a special sort of skill and habit. Shall we say that life is thirteen thousand times as complicated today as it was in ancient tribal days? At any rate, it is complicated enough to be worthy of some very real study.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What would be the social result if all persons were alike? What sort of community would be produced? What would such a community do with the individual who varied over-much from the group type? How did primitive groups treat extreme variants? What is the original meaning of the word "outlaw"?

DEALY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications,* Chapter XI
BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology,* Chapter II
ROWE: *Society: Its Origin and Development,* Chapter II
LOWIE: *Primitive Society*

2. Select several individuals with whom you are acquainted and consider their native characteristics under such headings as the following:

(*a*) mental characteristics
(*b*) habits
(*c*) features of character
(*d*) intelligence and ability
(*e*) knowledge, information, and experience
(*f*) power to concentrate upon tasks
(*g*) power of memory
(*h*) imagination
(*i*) expressions of feeling and emotion
(*j*) ability to think, to invent, to work out new methods
(*k*) power of will

Are any two individuals alike in several of these items? Study yourself under these same headings. What sort of person are you? What sort of occupation do you seem to be fitted for? Is there room in your community for yourself as a worker in that capacity? Is there a wide variety and diversity of individuals in your community?

Is there a correspondingly wide variety and diversity of occupation in your community? Is there room in your community for all the varied individuals who are growing up there?

Which of the following classes of vocation are represented in your community?

(*a*) agency and office work
(*b*) art
(*c*) business
(*d*) domestic service
(*e*) engineering of various kinds
(*f*) extractive industries, such as agriculture, mining, fishing, lumbering
(*g*) manufacturing
(*h*) mechanical work, such as building and construction
(*i*) the professions and semi-professions
(*j*) transportation

Are there as many different kinds of individuals as of work in your community? Or are some individuals doing disagreeable work? Do you think that each individual should find a congenial vocation?

PARSONS: *Choosing a Vocation*, pages 4–25; 26–46; 49–70

3. What, if anything, is being done in your community to help the specialized worker find the specialized job he needs? Can this be done in any exact or scientific way? Do you know of any industry that is handicapped by lack of skilled workers? Do you know of any skilled worker who has no suitable location: a "square peg in a round hole"?

CHAPTER TWO

Group Life

In the preceding chapter, we saw something of the very wonderful variety of human life. But we had a feeling all through that chapter that that was not the whole story. The endless variations among individuals are significant; but now we need to realize the no less wonderful likenesses in human beings. Under all differences, some common qualities of humanity appear. Common qualities and interests are responsible for holding people together in groups — communities, nations, political parties, and associations of all kinds. Most of us have some individual character, but we cannot live alone. We still cling to our fellows; we want friends; we realize our best living in the fellowship of some group or groups.

Group life. A second striking fact, therefore, which we come upon in our efforts to understand the people of the world is the fact that all normal individuals live in groups, of some sort. We are born into the little group of the family. We spend our childhood years in the neighborhood or community group. We become members of the school group, and of the various play groups that are open to us. We may be drawn into some religious group, early in life. We hear of the existence of political groups, and probably learn to call ourselves by the name of some political party long before we know what the party stands for, or even what a party is. We feel the need of social groups of various sorts as we grow older. Eventually, we become

members of more or less congenial vocational groups, as we take our places in the work of the world. All about us are opportunities for companionship, calls to join groups that wish to play, or to work, or to know the world about them; to worship; or simply to enjoy the comradeship of friends. Each of these desires may be fulfilled in a variety of ways. Hence, amazing networks of human relationships have grown up. We have local groups, clubs, societies; state-wide groups; national organizations and international associations. These cover the inhabited world. They vary in size from the small social club or the athletic team to the great political groups and great nations, the great churches, and the international associations of science, law, education, and trade.

Students of society used to believe that most groups had been deliberately organized by their members for the purpose of achieving their desires for material things, for justice, worship, and the like. But now we know that group life is natural; that it is a real characteristic of human beings to live in groups; and that most groups exist not by deliberate organization but by growth and nature. An old statement tells us that "Man is a bundle of hungers and thirsts walking." The desire for group fellowship is one of the strongest of these "hungers and thirsts." Men are uneasy when cut off from their natural groups.

The primitive group. One of the earliest lessons group members learned was that they could not live alone. Primitive men lived always and everywhere in groups. The primitive group was a kin unit, a large family, which included both the living and the dead, or

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 9. The primitive group was almost always a family group. This Laplander family group lives in this crude way in the Tromso region of northern Norway.

"invisible," members of the family. All the interests and activities of its members were controlled by the "folkways" of the group. Industry, the social and civic order, social intercourse, family ties, religious ceremonials, and education were all dictated by the old customs of the group. At the proper age — from twelve to fifteen — the young people were initiated into this group life. The secrets of the group, its methods of work and its traditions were imparted to them. Thus they became real members, upon whom the group could depend for its future existence. The initiation ceremonial was a great occasion for the group

and the children. It usually included elements similar to our modern "joining the church" and commencement exercises, combined. After their initiation, the young people were real members of the group. They felt their responsibilities and they knew that upon them depended the future of the group, and the preservation of the traditions and customs of the past.

An old story illustrates the sacred character of this group life. Cain killed his group brother, Abel. This is the worst crime in group life. It made it impossible for Cain to remain a member of the group. He was expelled and became an "outlaw." The group could not keep him because he made the group not stronger, but weaker by his presence. He became a "fugitive and a wanderer on the face of the earth." This was a "punishment greater than he could bear," since any one who saw him might kill him without fear of revenge; living alone, he had no defenders. The safety of the primitive man was in his group.

The need of many groups. But no one group answers all the many-sided needs of the modern individual. Modern groups are too specialized for that. Hence, most individuals find it desirable to belong to many groups and two individuals often find themselves cooperating in one group, for example, as Presbyterians; and opposing each other elsewhere: one may be a Democrat, the other a Republican. So our lives are interwoven in great networks. Our communities are filled with increasing varieties of groups. Some represent different kinds of interests; as, for example, a church group and a political group. Some represent opposing views concerning the same interest, as, for

example, the chamber of commerce and the trade union, in the industrial world: or Methodists and Unitarians in religion. The individual is the center of many group connections and relationships, today.

Centers of group interest. We must see something of this complicated group-life of individuals. What sorts of group-interests do we find? All over the earth, we find groups held together by common racial characteristics. Europe exhibits many examples of the way in which racial groups develop within narrow limits of territory. Who has not had difficulty in recent years in the effort to distinguish the Slovak from the Slovene, the Jugo-Slav from the Czecho-Slav, the Lithuanian from the Lett, or to locate others of the many hitherto unknown groups revealed by the war? These racial groups often hold together long after they have left their native territory. We know that, in America, immigrant groups maintain their native customs as long as possible. The Huguenot, the Pilgrim, the Scotch-Irish, the Pennsylvania Dutch, and the Scandinavian groups, as well as the late-coming Negro, have been persistent in maintaining original racial customs. For two thousand years, Jews have wandered over the earth or settled in scattered localities, and yet they have maintained much of their original character as a racial group.

Groups less closely united than those having racial bonds have grown up around a great variety of interests. In some countries, old class distinctions separate the nobility from the common people. Almost everywhere, people of wealth still make up "society" as over against merely well-to-do or poor people. A

political interest may draw all sorts of people, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, together around one common standard. Vocations, trades, and professions become the centers of group interests. In recent years, particularly, the development of trade unions shows the tendency of vocational interests to become the centers of very active and powerful groups. We have all kinds of professional organizations; associations of doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers, and the like. These, however, are not apt to be closely knit. Almost all vocations, however few in numbers their followers may be, develop some kind of active group connections. And when we consider the fact mentioned in the preceding chapter that some thirteen thousand distinct vocations have been catalogued, we can see how many groups may grow out of vocational developments.

Fraternal organizations make up many social groups. The purpose of such groups may be friendship, social advantage, charitable relief, or mutual benefit and insurance. They may have elaborate rituals or they may be very simple in form. Athletic interest may form the basis of groups: baseball and football develop local teams with their corresponding "fans," and the various neighborhoods of a city may find considerable excitement in supporting and boasting about their particular teams.

Religious interests have long been the centers of some of the most permanent social organizations. In American life, we know such groups as the Jews, the Catholics, and the numerous Protestant denominations. In some of the larger cities, we could find, in addition, representatives of the religious cults of Asia and Africa. A trip

around the world through foreign lands would show us some very striking developments of group life along religious lines.

In schools, we find literary societies, debating clubs, study clubs, class rivalries, and many other organized interests. Usually, competition among these groups is very real and keen; but, at times of athletic or oratorical contest with a rival school, all these lesser groups merge into the common school group and present a united front against the " enemy."

Group conflicts within the individual. Many problems for the individual arise out of these complications of group relationships. For example, in a western county, John Doe lived in a somewhat rough neighborhood, as a member of a group of congenial wild spirits. One year, he was elected sheriff of the county. As a county official, he was compelled to give up his membership in the old neighborhood group and to devote himself to the welfare of the whole county. Shortly after his election, a crime was committed and suspicion fell upon one or more of his former group friends. A very definite problem was presented to him by this situation: Should he consider himself a man of the county and proceed to arrest his old friends? Or should he consider himself still primarily a member of his old neighborhood group, and use his influence as sheriff to protect them? Which was he the more likely to do?

This story illustrates one of the most fundamental difficulties in the political life of a democracy. In old autocratic social orders, public officials were members of the upper social classes, and were generally assumed to be above the law. The assumption was that only

the lower classes broke the laws. In such a social order, an official never felt any conflict of duty. But, in our democracy, we assume that no one is above the law; and all our officials come from the community as a whole. They are all probably capable of breaking the law. They are acquainted with, even friendly with, individuals whom they may have to deal with later in official ways. What course shall such officials take? Shall they forget their old friendships and remember their oath of office? Will such a policy make old friends regard them as traitors to their old groups? Or shall they remain true to the old group; disregard their oath of office; and become, to that extent, traitors to the whole community? This is not an unusual situation. Inquiry will discover local instances. All enlargements of our living are likely to throw us into such conflicts.

Social values of group life. This illustration enables us to see, too, that these varied groups do not merely exist side by side in the community, like marbles in a box. They reach through and through each other like the threads of a woven pattern. Men and women who think and feel alike on any subject find themselves much more effective when they work together. Some groups and some group interests seem altogether desirable. Associations of workers, school associations, and the like all contribute something to the common good. Such associations strengthen the community. On the other hand, there are associations or groups which are wholly undesirable. Organizations of a criminal character, formed for the purpose of defying the community, or any type of organization the main purpose of which is to prey upon the rest of the com-

munity, is socially undesirable. One of our greatest civic problems has been and is how to curb such groups. There are, however, many groups which do not seem to belong entirely to either of these two classes. That is to say, many associations which claim to have the best of purposes are not wholly benevolent. They stand for a part of the community rather than for the whole; and they gain their success and prestige by fighting other groups and interests. Such organizations as trade unions, chambers of commerce, unorthodox political parties, and certain religious sects are classed by some in every community as undesirable organizations. Others, however, quite as stoutly maintain the good of all such groups.

Tests of the value of a group. When such divergences of opinion exist we may well ask the question, How may the value of a group be tested? In what circumstances should a group be welcomed into the life of the community? The mere existence of an organization is no proof of its value. Certain groups may have had real value once; but they may continue to exist merely because the members like to get together; or because they wear a striking uniform; or for some other incidental reason. How should the value of a group be determined?

A group that is to be regarded as desirable should certainly be of service both to its members and to the community as a whole. It should offer opportunities for the enrichment of the personal character of its members. It should tend in some particular way to make the community more orderly, more interesting, healthier, better adjusted, or more desirable socially.

But it should scarcely attempt to be the whole community. Nor should it be too assertive of its own prerogatives. It must serve the social needs of its members, enlarge their common life, and contribute to the welfare of the community. At the same time, in our great cities, it can afford a means by which crowded individuals can occasionally escape from confusion to something of the quiet intimacy which characterized the unified life of the older small community.

Some groups emphasize coöperation; as, for example, marketing associations among fruit and grain producers. Other groups emphasize social antagonisms; as, for example, the pro-slavery and Abolitionist groups before the Civil War, or the Ku Klux Klan. Society may need both coöperators and antagonizers. Society probably needs both good workers and good haters. Coöperation and antagonism are both desirable — coöperation as a means of serving good ends, and antagonism as a means of defeating the evils of the community. Both may be constructive. Both may be destructive. Coöperation may foist upon the country undesirable conditions, as in the case of leagues to maintain high prices, or to continue the evils of child labor. Antagonism may obstruct the positive efforts of the community, as in the case of attempts to deny equal educational opportunities to girls, and to keep workers from having any share in the control of the conditions under which they are compelled to labor. There is no social magic in the word "coöperation" by itself. A group serves the community, if it is working within itself or with other groups for the welfare of the community. But it also serves the community if it antagonizes evils.

It will thus be seen that the life of the community is not only very complex and diversified, but it is exceedingly complicated in its motives. In the larger communities, today, it is not always easy to determine whether one's efforts are counting for community good or for community evil. But one thing is assured: it is impossible for the individual to live unto himself. Whether he desires it or not, his life touches and influences many of those about him. We must, therefore, do our best to understand the developments of groups.

Membership in many groups may develop individual nature on many sides. Membership in one group alone is undesirable. One of us may be a leader in one group, and a follower in another. This is desirable. Our democracy needs both leaders and followers. Does it follow, therefore, that certain people should be nothing but leaders, while others should be nothing but followers? With the thousands of vocational, social, religious, political, educational, and fraternal groups now in existence, should not each particular individual find some chance to know some of the joys of leadership in one group, and some of the discipline that comes of mere membership in another group?

In multitudes of ways, human life is interwoven in complex group patterns. This interweaving makes for color, variety, interest. It also constitutes one of the sources of our various social problems. Some of our most serious social problems are the result of our failures to make clear to ourselves just what our group relationships and responsibilities are, and whether we are primarily interested in the success of our particular group or groups, or in the welfare of the community as

a whole. Most of us spend much time and energy struggling with these complications of group and community demands. Some of us drift with our groups. Some of us try to work for the whole community. Some of us — most of us, perhaps — do not quite know what we wish to do about these complex concerns.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Compare the characteristics of some group you know, in the school or the community, with those of a primitive group. How do they differ, in organization? in purposes? in advantages? in disadvantages? What would be the result if any modern group should undertake to assume all the functions of a primitive group? Do you know of any tendencies in that direction?

   KEANE: *Man, Past and Present*
   GILLETTE: *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Chapters II and III
   MORGAN: *Ancient Society*

2. What racial groups are found in your community? Do these groups maintain their national customs in dress, manners, modes of amusement, etc.? Is it desirable that all their native characteristics should be lost? What happens when old customs are too rapidly or too completely discarded?

   ADDAMS: *Newer Ideals of Peace*, Chapter III
   DANIELS: *America via the Neighborhood*
   STEINER: *On the Trail of the Immigrant*

3. What group in your community was brought together by some sort of compulsion? by accident? by mutual attraction and good fellowship? Which of these bases is the strongest? Which has the greatest influence on general community life? What are the most lasting bonds of group organization? What coöperative groups exist in your community? What antagonistic groups?

Into what sorts of social activities and relationships do these group organizations extend? Are there any local group-feuds?

BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology*, Chapter II

4. Sketch the "life history" of some group; for instance, some school club. How and why and when did it originate? How has it fulfilled its purpose? Does it still exist? Is it now useful or useless? What is its future likely to be?

DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapter X
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter II
TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapter III

5. Consider very carefully the groups with which you are yourself connected, listing them. Make a chart of your group connections. Does group membership seem desirable or not? Why? Can it be escaped? How?

CHAPTER THREE

Group Controls

The services of the primitive group to its members seem so vital that every effort is made to protect the primitive group from change, even to the extent of using methods that may come near to destroying it. Hence, in every community or national group, methods of control and standards of conduct are developed which are presumed to assure its survival. In lesser degree, all groups have standards, initiations, rules, which aim to control the individual member and so to assure the continuance of the group.

The origin of standards. These standards of conduct have, for the most part, grown up without intention. They have survived because the group holding them has survived. Most of them were never thought out; they belong to custom, tradition, and feeling, rather than to reason. They seem reasonable, however, to those who follow them since the followers have no other standards by which to test them. All standards of conduct are products of common group life. And every good member of the group has them, knows them, and obeys them as nearly as possible.

The range of standards. Standards of conduct are connected with every aspect of social life. Around every special event of life, a very elaborate form of conduct grows up. In all primitive groups, elaborate customs gather about the birth of a child, about marriage, death, seedtime, and harvest, and other important occasions. Many of these customs still persist; e.g.,

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 10. Groups are of many sorts and sizes, and they are organized for many purposes. These are school children drilling in Manila, Philippine Islands. In a few minutes this group will break up into individuals and separate to hundreds of homes.

christenings, harvest-home picnics, etc. Even such a task as the detection or punishment of criminals may be worked out in elaborate form. These group ways so completely control all living that the education of the young becomes conventionalized and every fact that the child is to learn, every emotion that he is to experience, and every activity or duty that he is to perform are carefully predetermined. Among primitive groups, children are taught from infancy to believe that any departure from the customs of the group is invariably followed by some one of many possible evils, such as becoming prematurely gray, being attacked by some disease, suffering bodily danger, or meeting death. So deeply is this idea rooted that among many peoples the

appearance of any affliction is taken as proof that the individual affected has committed some sin against group custom. Civilized groups have had to fight hard to escape from such beliefs. The Hebrew *Book of Job* is a dramatic discussion of this ancient belief. If a man lose his wealth, or if he be afflicted with boils, does that prove that he is a sinner, that he has broken some custom of the group?

The values of standards. These group standards and customs hold together what might otherwise be a mere aggregation of people, and make of it a unit of energy. Molded by these standards and customs, the group, in the presence of danger, becomes an effective military force; needing food, it changes to an industrial organization; on special days, it is a religious body; and always it is a tribe, a state, a civic organization. The customs and standards of a group protect it from disintegration and defeat. They set up levels of achievement which every new member of the group is under obligation to attain. They test the loyalties and devotions of all members of the group. In a sense, they are like the standings in school, which the pupil must achieve before he can be promoted. They help to hold the attention, and therefore the energy, of the group to common aims, and thus keep the strength of the group at its maximum for conflict with any of its foes, such as failure of crops, disease, hostile tribes, traitors, or disintegrating suggestions and ideas.

These customs are usually maintained by various forms of organization within the group. These internal organizations include classifying the individuals and subordinating some members of the group to others.

Such classifications are sometimes very elaborate in form. Among the ancient Chinese, there were five such subordinations which were recognized as the foundations of all order and virtue. These five were: the subordination of the wife to the husband; of the children to the parents; of the younger brother to the elder brother; of the servant to the master; of the pupil to the teacher.

How standards operate. Everywhere such classifications and subordinations have developed. Usually they are made evident by some form of dress or bodily attitude or derogatory epithet. Of course, children have always been subordinate. To be called a "youngster" or a "junior" is to be made to feel a sense of dependence and inferiority. Men and women busy about their work and their ambitions easily deny the demands of childhood. Women, too, have been subordinated everywhere. This is shown by the fact that one of the best ways to take the conceit out of a man is to refer to him as a "sissy." Slaves and servants have always been so fully subordinate that in Athens, for example, a few thousand free men could hold in subjugation ten times as many slaves, though the free men were always a little afraid. Something of this servile feeling remains in many people. It is one of the serious obstacles to the growth of democracy. In other people, something of the old feeling of superiority survives. Some of us seem to think of wage earners as occupying a subordinate position in the community. We all feel that it is quite proper to look with disdain on "backward peoples." We are inclined to feel that any stranger must be a source of danger; we train our

children to be careful how they talk to strangers; we dislike any man or woman who presents a strange point of view. Before the Civil War, any one who was called an Abolitionist was regarded in many quarters as certainly of low moral character. More recently, efforts have been made to discredit movements similar to the attempt to free the slaves by insidious suggestions that the leaders of such movements are immoral. We are afraid of strange customs, strange peoples, strange ideas — until we come to know them.

Types of etiquette hold us in their power, too. Travel involves changes in standards. The guest in the home must do certain things and leave other things undone. You must fold your napkin in certain ways and use the proper knife or fork or spoon if you wish to be respected and regarded as a person who knows how to conduct himself. A host also has his duties and standards. There are certain requirements about introducing persons who meet for the first time. Certain persons may be introduced; indeed, they must be introduced. Certain others must not be. On certain social levels a member of the family is not introduced to the chauffeur; their relationships are not personal and social, but impersonal. We recall that under the chivalry of the Middle Ages, the knight was bound to redress the wrongs of people of his own class; but he had no such responsibility to the servile under-classes. Under such standards as these some people are regarded as real persons, while others are looked upon as mere things, objects.

Extreme forms of control. These customs and standards have had a long history. They survive from past

levels of conduct. Some of them have been kept alive because they support the ambitions of strong members of the group. This is illustrated in extreme form under caste systems, as in India. The Hindu is born into his caste and cannot change it. Frequently he has sacrificed his life rather than break the rules of his caste. Caste is the very breath of his being, and to break it is worse than crime. He will perjure himself, or steal; he will maim and murder; but he will respect the laws of his caste and yield blind obedience to its rules. Consider the customs of Sparta in this connection.

The preservation of standards. If forms of conduct and standards of action are to become part of the character of the individual members of the group, they must be forced into the lives of those members. How can this be done? It is done by means of impressive ceremonies, such as initiations. But these standards must be frequently recalled to the attention of the members by ceremonials and celebrations; while their violation must be followed by rebuke or actual punishment. These facts give us two sorts of conduct for group members. First, the observance of ceremonial activities which are commanded and must be performed by every loyal member. Second, respect for prohibitions of all sorts, *taboos*, limitations of conduct, which are intended to control action and to develop discipline. An illustration of the first sort is found in the church rites of baptism and communion. Every good and loyal church member insists upon sharing in these marks of membership. So important are they that, in many churches, the right of baptism must be performed upon the new member without delay, even though that should

involve going into a river full of ice. An illustration of the second sort is found in the refusal of groups everywhere to eat certain forms of food. In many primitive groups, the chief has certain taboos of his own; that is to say, he marks out certain plots of ground or certain sources of food supply and secures them for himself by his taboo marks. A particularly fine bunch of bananas may thus be marked for the chief, and he would be a decidedly innovating sort of individual who would dare to violate such a taboo.[1] Boys' groups have such customs in some places today. We, too, have certain primitive taboos. For example, some people have an aversion to eating dogs, or cats, or horses. Certain actions at the table are also taboo. The Indian loudly smacks his lips to convey to the host his gratitude for the meal he has enjoyed. Such action on our part would probably mean that we should never get another invitation. Certain elements of dress also seem to take on something of this same character. A hat which was fashionable last year may make one ashamed if one is compelled to wear it this year. It will be seen that these taboos provide extremely effective measures of discipline, not always for the benefit of the whole group, but of value in controlling the conduct of individuals.

The effect of social changes on standards. Standards and ceremonials and prohibitions do their work as long as the general environment of the group remains fairly permanent. They stabilize individual and group habits and customs, and no one, except perhaps an extremely rash individual, would think of questioning

[1] Thomas. *Source Book of Social Origins*, page 788.

them. But times of change and uncertainty are sure to come sooner or later. Other groups may come in and reveal contrasting customs. That is what happened to the Greeks when the Persians came, especially after the battle of Thermopylæ when the Persian soldiers and camp followers spent the greater part of a year in the country around Athens. A strong individual may rebel and criticize existing standards. That was what Socrates did. After a period of criticism and contrast, old standards and forms of conduct can no longer be accepted thoughtlessly. If they are to remain, they must be able to bear criticism. If they cannot do this, they will have to disappear and let others take their place. If the criticism is not too deadly, the group life may recover and sink back into a sort of stagnation, once more. A legend may then grow up explaining how the group was saved from the danger of destruction by some heroic man or by some miracle from the gods.

But when criticism of standards is very extensive, the group may undergo disintegration, and the standards may be completely destroyed. At such times, old standards arouse in people a sense of irritation or contempt. They feel like fetters and make people furious. They hold individuals in bonds that seem tyrannical and slowly inspire hate, until eventually the group may come to regard all standards with intolerance and may attempt to live as if there should be no such thing. This happened during, and after, the French Revolution. The same thing happened in Greece as a result of the work of the so-called Sophists, who insisted that all control of individuals by group standards

was unbearable. The Sophists insisted that each individual should make his own standards and measure all the experiences of life by his own personal feelings. This is the philosophy of every revolutionary period.

Recovering from changes. Of course, no such chaos can long endure. Inevitably, each group will develop a new set of standards. How this is done, we shall consider in later chapters. A group without standards or customs or recognized forms of behavior would disintegrate and cease to be a group. How can a group have standards and customs, and at the same time keep on growing and changing?

Any group can stand the loss of members through death, for such a loss is natural, inevitable, and every one can understand it. Moreover, in many groups, such a loss seems merely to transfer the individual from a visible membership to an invisible, and hence does not discourage or weaken the group unduly. But no group can long survive the defection or treason of any number of its members. Such loss goes farther than a lessening of the fighting or productive power of the group. It weakens the group in a more insidious way. It casts contempt upon the group. It implies that the group is not needed by the individual. It is this that makes treason so despicable a crime in the eyes of patriots. No group can freely permit its members to go over to a hostile or unfriendly group. Thus, formerly, when a Chinaman gave up the religion of his ancestors to become a Christian, he was subjected to extreme persecution. His old group was not merely losing him. It was losing some of its former confidence in itself. Hence, in some groups, the defection of an individual

is followed by something like a funeral ceremony by means of which the group attempts to convince itself that its former member has not been a traitor but has really died. In other groups, even in modern civilized groups, the "traitor," or any member who loses the respect of his former associates by violating a law or a group custom, may be "burned in effigy"; that is to say, a figure made to represent the despised one may be burned as if it were the individual himself. In primitive times, among most groups, the practice of sympathetic magic operated in this same way. Injury done to something that belonged to the hated individual, or to something that looked like him, was supposed to communicate itself to him through a sort of sympathy, and so to have the same injurious effect upon him.

Civilization, as we have called our modern social order, has grown out of these primitive group conditions. This growth has been helped at times by group demands, as when the Roman empire bound together the warring peoples about the Mediterranean under a common authority. It has been hindered at times by group demands, as when the Athenians put Socrates to death because he criticized old Athenian customs. Civilization has not escaped from group standards and customs. At present, we are passing through a stage of severe criticism of these old methods of social control. Some of our old customs have disappeared; others will probably go. New and, let us hope, more intelligent customs and standards will take the place of the old. Progress is possible only as the old gives way to the more intelligent new. Civilization needs control as much as the primitive group needed it. But the control

set up by a civilized people should be more intelligent, more humane, more responsive to the needs of individuals than was that old primitive group control. We shall turn to this problem in the next chapter.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. How did the group standards of the ancient Athenians differ from those of the Spartans? (Consult any history of Greece.) How did the Athenian standards change, for example, in the Age of Transition, the 5th century B.C.? What were the standards of the Romans? of the Hebrews? (See *Exodus*, Chapter XX, and the *Book of Proverbs*.) of the Germanic peoples? (See Tacitus, and histories of the Germanic invasions of Rome.) Can we say that America has any single and definite set of standards? What was the origin of American standards? What are the constituents of "Americanism"?
2. Why do we need social control? Consider the social results that would follow the escape of all individuals from standards and controls: is such an escape possible? Is it happening anywhere in any degree? in your community? Specify instances and illustrations. Are the results desirable or undesirable? Is it possible to forestall such escape? How are standards regarded in your community? in your school? What was the origin of those standards?

Ross: *Social Control*

3. Do you know of any modern forms of taboo? What are the methods by which public opinion controls individuals? What is a code of law, morals, or etiquette? What is a "social code"? What are "folkways"? How do codes change? What is meant by honor? by conscience? Are such terms used by your local groups? How do they operate?

SUMNER: *Folkways*, Chapter III

4. What becomes of old standards in times of change (*cf.* the story of Alcibiades in Greek history)? What was the effect of the World War on standards? Were the results constructive or destructive?

DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapter IX
TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapters III, IV, and VII
ELLWOOD: *Christianity and Social Science*

5. What forces in your community are fighting for the "good old ways"? for the breakdown of all standards? for the development of new types of standards and social control? What attitudes do your newspapers take toward the old standards?

CHAPTER FOUR

The Individual and the Group

We have found two factors — individuals and groups — with which we must deal in our efforts to understand the social order in which we live, and we have seen that the great groups or nations of the modern world are made up of many intricately interwoven minor groups. Our next step will carry us into the problem of the adjustments between individuals and groups.

The restlessness of individuals. Group life has such great values that usually very stringent rules and customs are enforced to protect group organization. Curiously enough, these very efforts, if carried to extremes, may result in the disintegration and destruction of the group. Individual life is not composed of rules and customs exclusively; it is filled with variety, with color of feeling, emotion, adventurousness, originality, inventiveness. When a group becomes so rigid that it treats such qualities as treasonable, it is preparing its own destruction. To be sure, that destruction may be slow in coming. Persecution is usually successful against the first rebels and adventurers, but it only stimulates their successors. This outcome may be seen in the French Revolution; in the gradual undermining, in Russia, through centuries of tyranny, of tyranny itself; it seems to be happening in China.

If there are great uninhabited areas of land to be found, restless individuals may simply seek new homes in those areas. This will weaken the group without

overturning the old forms of organization. Such restless types formed much of the pioneer population of America. They solved, for themselves, the problems of group tyranny in Europe by migrating to the American wilderness.

The great problem of human life, for individuals and for groups, is the problem of adjustment. The group needs the loyalty and the active interest of all its members, while every individual needs the discipline and protection of group life. But many individuals need much more. They need the chance to invent, to adventure, and to think. And the group is almost always suspicious of thinkers.

The conflict between the individual and the group. We have noted the wide variations in the native endowments of individuals; we have seen the great variety in group and social life. We can imagine, perhaps, that any one of these varied individuals might find, somewhere in the world, a social group which would just fit his needs and offer him the very best possible opportunity for growth. But when millions of individuals and innumerable groups live together, if many individuals find their proper groups, it must be by accident. Practically all individuals find themselves more or less in conflict with the groups that they grow into from childhood. These conflicts may be nothing more serious than the little irritations which any one feels in conditions that are not altogether agreeable. The individual may have his feelings hurt occasionally; he may be denied what he most desires; he may have to wait for his dinner until some lazy person has arrived; he may be misunderstood and reprimanded or punished

for actions which seemed very reasonable to himself. On the other hand, his conflict may be so absolute that no adjustment seems possible, and he may find it impossible to remain a member of such a group; or the group may find it necessary to expel him and, to that extent, make an outlaw of him. Consider the story of Aaron Burr.

The family is a group, and children of any home may find these problems of adjustment constantly developing. The possession of certain clothes or of other articles of use and adornment sometimes causes dispute. The desire to go with the family on trips and to parties and picnics raises questions of the rights of older and younger members. There must be frequent giving-in on the part of some, which may result in an attitude of subservience on their part, and selfishness in those who are always singled out for favor. The home is an educational institution, where the younger members learn to live together; that is, they become adjusted to one another. Sometimes, some of these adjustments are very unfair. Consider Ruskin's story, *The King of the Golden River*.

All social groups offer varied opportunities and difficulties of adjustment. A playground where children from many families meet is an illustration of an adjustment-situation. Children first show what they can do. But some games are impossible without coöperation. For example, baseball is played by teams. Now a team is composed of a limited number of players, each one having his special position, and each being under the necessity of subordinating his own desire to "show off" to the success of the team. Many a ball player has

been sent to the bench because he insisted upon making a spectacular play, " playing to the grandstand," when the good of the team called for " sacrifice." It takes a long time for the individual to learn to control his own desires in the interest of the team. On any amateur playground where boys from ten to fourteen are playing baseball, the endless bickering and wrangling of the players shows the difficulty of learning that lesson.

Many other activities of life demand definite co-operation of the kind which the individual learns only through constant adjustment and discipline. From one point of view, education is developing the ability to make those adjustments to natural conditions and social demands which the years are likely to bring to us. Once, it was held that education should put an end to all individual initiative. The best educators no longer hold that view.

Complexities of adjustment. Difficulties in the way of adaptation vary according to the complexity of the situation. In the small country community, where interests are few and simple, the necessary adjustments may be quickly and easily made. When the community is so primitive that eating, for example, is primarily a matter of bolting sufficient food to maintain energy for work, the manners and customs of eating take care of themselves. To grab what one wants and crowd it into the mouth may be all the manners one needs. In a more complex community, however, where some of the niceties of life have developed and where eating becomes one of the social graces, the task of learning a full equipment of appropriate manners may take years. Knowing which fork or which spoon to use at any partic-

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FIG. 11. In many parts of China, notably in the river ports, millions of individuals are crowded into living quarters like these house boats at Whangpoo. Every individual must be like every other one if life is to be endured.

ular point in the meal becomes the index of experience and culture: such factors may determine one's social fate.

In small communities, where the necessary elements of adjustment are quickly learned, stagnation often sets in. Young people take on the manners and customs of their group, and may become as set in their ways as the older members. The social life may be very simple, even rude and inelegant, consisting of the rougher types of dancing and of forms of horseplay. The community may even be so lacking in social life that, before complete stagnation overtakes the young people, they may feel some vague hunger for activities and may complain that nothing ever goes on. This is especially likely to

be the case if they hear reports of interesting activities in larger communities.

Competition among groups. In larger communities, where life is varied and customs are very complicated, the growing individual may find himself unable to adjust himself easily and quickly to any particular set of customs or to any particular group. He may feel the pull of many different groups; he may wish to belong to a variety of activities; he may feel that to become a member of any particular group will cut him off from membership in other quite equally desirable groups. He may find his feelings torn as he considers which of several competing interests to ally himself with; or he may be pulled about by these group demands until decision becomes impossible and he finds himself eventually left out of all.

But most individuals, even in complicated communities, do accept the customs and the discipline and the fellowship of particular groups. They do join some social group, some political group, some trade or profession, some religious organization. That is to say, little by little, they take their places in the membership of groups, and find the satisfactions, the rewards, and the answers to their needs which such groups offer. The results are not always satisfactory, but the modern city, for example, offers us little that is better.

Limitations of group membership. Under such conditions an individual may find a very narrow range of interests and little room for action. He may find a trade which compels him to spend his days in some simple shop, to go back and forth between the shop and a quiet home in a side street, to remain ignorant of his

city, to have no share in its civic problems or in the affairs of the world. He may live in a little niche in the city's life, undisturbed by the currents of activity about him. On the other hand, adjustment may mean that he has established a connection between himself and the great interests of the world, so that his whole life is tied up with the important affairs of his community or of his nation, and he thus becomes one of the outstanding men of his time. Of course, individual endowment must be taken into account in the two cases; but the city does not always treat all men and women equitably. It selects some of the naturally brilliant ones for brilliant enterprises; but it condemns others to stunted and bitter lives. It selects most of the commonplace men and women for mediocre positions, but it sometimes casts up the fool to the position of responsibility. Under present conditions, accident and "pull" shape many destinies.

Eliminations from the group. There is a phase of adjustment which is gloomy, but which must be considered. Modern society selects for interesting, stimulating, enriching types of life and work; but it also selects for elimination. Ineffective individuals find it impossible to maintain themselves by their own energies in the competitions of life. They find it impossible to make wise choices among the diverse elements about them. If they have the help of powerful friends, they may secure, through some form of "pull," such a softening of the conditions of competition as will enable them to get along. But if they must meet the conditions of competition alone, they may be eliminated. They may find the task too much for their physical

energy, or their fears, or their intelligence, or their wills, and so they may give way before it, and either retreat to some simple round of mechanical toil sufficient to maintain physical life, or sink down into the undercurrents of the city's moral life and perish. The city is not all bright lights and romance. For multitudes, it is murky shadows, dark streets, and dread of the future.

Characteristics of adjustments. Two elements condition adjustment. Adaptation of the individual to the group will be easy or hard, rapid or slow, according to: (1) the size, nature, and functions of the group, and the complexity and rigidity of its customs and folkways; and (2) the adaptability of the individual. Some individuals are plastic, easily adapting themselves to every change of environment. Others are rigid, unadaptable. They are bashful; they are objects of pity to their more facile fellows. They may, however, possess originality, which is highly valuable to society. Every community has its more or less unadaptable individuals.

If the individual refuses to conform to the demands of the group, his fate may be very tragic. He may be allowed to remain in the group, but with all the rights and privileges of membership or fellowship withdrawn. But if he cannot conform, he is more likely to seek out and join a group with the purposes of which he can be in sympathy. If he can find no such group, he may be compelled to organize one of his own, provided he can find others to join with him; and that is not at all unlikely, no matter what the purpose of the group may be! Any person or any idea can get at least a few followers.

In the processes of adjustment, the individual experiences real growth. Joining a group may call for the elimination of undesirable personal qualities. It may cause the individual to know himself better and enable him to justify his own desires. It may bring him into contact with larger knowledge, stimulating fellowships, ennobling ideas. It may give him the opportunity to engage in the kinds of work or service which will release his best self. Strong groups make real contributions to the personalities of their members, whether for social good or for social ill, and they seek strong individuals for membership.

Adjustments also mean larger growth and added strength for the whole group, giving it new support, and increasing its possibilities of survival in the struggle for existence. The strong group learns how to utilize more and more completely the loyalties and talents of its members. It binds all members together through participation in a common cause, for nothing is so powerful an excitant of loyalty as activity in behalf of a cause.

But taking in new members is a risk. No doubt, without the new members, the group is likely to become " sot in its ways," and to die through stagnation. But taking in new members may admit such disturbing elements, bring on such internal dissensions, as may result in the demoralization and break-up of the group.

Group life as a form of social organization is permanent and secure; some individual groups have withstood all attacks for long periods. But the great majority of groups disappear or are rebuilt in the ceaseless changes of the centuries, usually leaving, however, some more or

less important and permanent fragments behind, to serve as the centers of tragic loyalties and the rallying grounds of obstructionists. So, for generations, Stuart "pretenders" kept England in turmoil; and the German, Austrian, and Russian republics will long be in danger from the royalists whom the World War dethroned.

But groups can be the most tyrannical of masters. They can destroy all the energy and initiative of venturesome and non-conformist men and women. Some educators, scientists, and statesmen feel that the greatest danger in the world today is the tyranny of groups over the intellects and wills of capable men and women. Few groups would be so crude, today, as to put Socrates to death; but they would probably break him by criticism and persecution.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Consider how individuals are controlled by epithets, particularly terms like "tight-wad," "slacker," etc. Make a list of such terms. Consider how men are molded by the tools they use; by the bestowing of honors; by the ideas, faiths, beliefs, tastes, and social attitudes prevalent in their groups; by existent codes of action and ethical customs.

Ross: *Social Control*, Part II

2. Do all members of your community belong to special groups? If not, why not? Are the groups too few? too lacking in variety? Are all sorts of groups represented in your community? If not, what sorts are lacking? Do the groups in your community overlap, and do they compete for individuals? Do some individuals belong to too many groups? Do some individuals try to lead too many groups? What sorts of groups should the

normal individual join? Who is left out of your school groups? Why?

3. What changes take place in any individual when he joins a social group? Why does the individual submit to the conditions? What adjustments are involved in making a team? Modern business is moving in the direction of coöperation: what adjustments must individuals make in joining this coöperative movement? Are people being educated today for coöperation or for competition?

DEALEY: *Sociology; Its Development and Applications*, Chapter IX

4. To what extent is the movement from country to city caused by the lack of adequate group life in the country? Can this be remedied? Is society responsible for communities that lack adequate social or group life? What can be done to improve rural conditions?

GILLETTE: *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Chapters V, VI, XII, XIII, and XIV

5. Can you give any examples of standards which tend to limit individuals? What are the standards of a mob? What effect has a mob on the attitudes of the individual? List all the different kinds of groups which you can find in your community and arrange them in systematic order. How many groups control parts of your own life and energy?

CHAPTER FIVE

The Race and Environment

Every group has had its history. Human life is a long story; many of the individual and social variations which we find today have been developing through the centuries. What has brought about these manifold developments?

Man's struggle with nature. Humanity has had a long, precarious, complicated life. It has had to adjust itself to a multitude of conditions, geographic, climatic, and the like. It has fought with the rigors of tropic and arctic climates; with the terrors of earthquakes and the eruptions of volcanoes; with famine and pestilence; with wild beasts and wilder tribes. And out of all these struggles has come the elimination of some of the ineffectives, and the elimination of many desirable types as well. The result, however, has been the selection for survival of those varied races now found upon the earth.

Man's place in nature. Beyond this story of the life of humanity is the larger story of the evolution of life. Scientists believe that the story of the human race is but a chapter in the general story of life. They also maintain that the story of life is but a chapter in the general story of the universe. Hence, the story of human life is a chapter in the great story of the evolution of worlds.

Astronomers tell us that the universe itself is undergoing continuous modification. Innumerable worlds have been developed in the processes of universal evolution. The most striking fact in our history is undying human energy. This human energy is a part

of that universal energy which is manifested in the processes of universal evolution. In some inexplicable way, our lives, our hopes and our fears, our hungers and our loves, our sufferings and our aspirations are of this universal energy. The universe seems to be energy, which under certain conditions becomes matter. One form of matter is protoplasm, the basis of organic life. The amœba is an illustration of protoplasm so organized as to express life in a simple form. From the amœba upward through the various forms of life, we can trace the increasing complication of structure and organization until we come to the level of man, with his complex body, in which we may find what is probably nature's greatest bit of creative work, the nervous system and brain of the human being. Here we shall not linger to consider these matters in detail. But some knowledge of these things is necessary if we are to understand the meaning of certain fundamental facts in the life of the human race.

Natural variation. In the first place, then, in the evolution of living forms, nature has been extremely extravagant in the production of individuals. The struggle for existence in the lower orders of nature has been very rigorous. Therefore, in order to make sure that a certain number of individuals will survive, nature produces millions of specimens, as for example, in the case of the fishes. But even of these many thousands, no two are ever exactly alike. This endless variety makes possible the survival of the most desirable. It is not certain, of course, that any particular individual selected at any time will be the most desirable, for accident enters in. But it is quite certain that, in the

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FIG. 12. On Diomede Islands, Bering Strait, the Eskimos have built their houses into the hillsides, taking advantage of the protection afforded by the hills.

course of time, the types best adapted to a given environment will survive; and, in any permanent environment, these selected types will give permanence to the life that develops there. When the environment changes, the types that survive will change accordingly. As the environment becomes more complex, more complex forms of living organisms will be selected for survival.

There is a great deal of discussion among scientists as to whether any new forms have evolved by minute steps from lower levels. Some claim that the new and higher type always appears as a "sport" (to use Darwin's term) or as a "mutant" (to use De Vries's term). These sports or mutants represent extreme variations from the original types. If they are adapted to survival under existing conditions, they introduce novel

elements of organic life. By such mutations, some assert, all the higher orders of life have emerged from lower orders; and the human race itself is just a fortunate and extraordinary mutant from some lower order. Others, however, claim that minute changes are preserved and thus, in the course of many generations, a strikingly different form may emerge.

Mutual adjustments. Darwin, in *The Origin of Species*, describes the close relationships that develop among various living forms in a narrow environment. For example:

> One hundred heads of red clover produced 2,700 seeds, but the same number of heads protected from the visits of bumble bees produced not a single seed. Bumble bees alone visit red clover, as other bees cannot reach the nectar. It has been suggested that moths may fertilize the clover; but I doubt whether they could do so in the case of the red clover, from their weight not being sufficient to depress the wing petals. Hence we may infer as highly probable that if the whole genus of bumble bees became extinct or very rare in England the heart's ease and red clover would become very rare or wholly disappear. Now the number of bumble bees in any district depends in a great measure upon the number of field mice which destroy their combs and nests; and Colonel Newman, who has long attended the habits of bumble bees, believes that more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England. Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Colonel Newman says, "Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of bumble bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice." Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district

might determine through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district.

Many other illustrations of this principle of mutual adjustment and dependence may be found in the delightful books of Fabre. The interrelationships of men as well as of the lower animals illustrate the same principle.

The human race is still subject to all the natural conditions which surround the lower orders of life, except in so far as man, by his larger intelligence, is able to control those conditions. Natural conditions destroy vast numbers of organisms in all the lower orders of life; and human beings in their savage and barbarous stages are often at the mercy of heartless nature. "Fitness" on these lower levels is almost wholly a physical matter. The forms which survive are those which are able to endure the strains and stresses of long competition for food, water, and shelter.

But in many forms of animal life, and almost always among men, some form of coöperation comes in to ward off the more extreme forms of competition. Many animals coöperate within their own species; as, for example, a band of wild horses on the plains. Competition continues between antagonistic species, only. Among the vertebrates, there are very few "solitary" animals. The cats, such as leopards and tigers, are the best known.

Among men, higher forms of coöperation develop; but, among them, it must also be confessed, more destructive forms of competition are to be found. Some biologists claim that man is the only animal which sets up de-

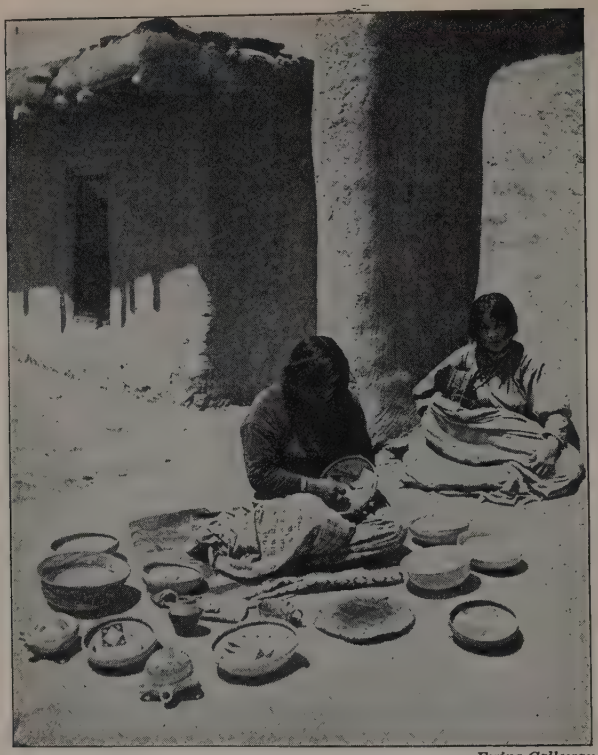

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FIG. 13. In Arizona the Hopi Indians have been making pottery for centuries out of the clays of their hills, painting their creations with natural colors also found in the hills.

structive forms of competition within its own species; man is the only animal that makes war on its own kind.

The emergence of humanity. Some thinkers insist that the old animal struggles for existence should have no place on the higher levels of human evolution. They argue that men should substitute forms of coöperation,

such as mutual help, for the older forms of struggle and that we should outlaw " the survival of the fittest " by undertaking to make as many as possible fit to survive. Others claim that all such efforts tend to keep alive the weak and the inefficient, — who would have been ruthlessly eliminated in a more primitive age, — thereby weakening rather than strengthening the race. There seems to be no reason why the more humane theory should not prevail, as soon as it is generally understood that, although individuals are, in large part, controlled by their environments, it is possible for intelligence to create environments that will select effective types.

This means that, somewhere, somehow, in the course of evolution, the race, rising above the older animal characteristics, developed certain characteristics that we now call human: sympathy, moral idealism, the sense of justice and fair play, the ability to forecast the future and to think. Nature first developed bigness; she made monstrous dinosaurs. But this effort was not a complete success; mere bigness was not enough. Then she tried to secure results in a more indirect way; that is, she tried intelligence. She made man, *homo faber*, the maker of tools, who is able to control the world, in part at least, and to harness forces that can accomplish more than any animal that ever lived. Intelligence opened to man diversity of action, capacity to act in a thousand directions, and so to develop wide ranges of experiences. Thus, he became *homo sapiens*. Moreover, through the invention of language and writing, and the establishment of institutions, man has developed a length of life that goes far beyond any animal life; that is to say, human institutions, books,

and tools last for thousands of years. These distinctly human characteristics have emerged in recent *social* environments. They have helped to make the individual fit for membership in a social world. It follows, therefore, that as society becomes more humane, individuals with such characteristics will increasingly be selected for survival.

The pressure of populations. As populations grow, groups and individuals crowd upon each other more and more. Before the development of modern machine methods of production, any increase in population threatened increasing numbers of people with misery or with starvation. Any failure of the food supplies resulted in more or less wide-spread famines; and large numbers of people continually lived on what students call "the margin of subsistence." These facts led certain students of society to the conclusion that the human race must always live under the shadow of impending starvation.

Malthus, an English economist of the early 19th century, held that population increases in a geometrical ratio, while food supplies can only be increased in an arithmetical ratio. Hence, excess populations must perish. He advocated the voluntary control of the population, by late marriages, by celibacy, and by limitation of offspring. He argued that unless population were thus intentionally limited, other more drastic means would begin to operate. It is obvious that the population must keep within the bounds of the available food supplies. If intelligent methods are not employed, then famines, pestilences, and wars become inevitable.

Such a theory is gloomy in the extreme. Certain elements in it are now seen to be overdrawn. Malthus failed to take into account two important facts. In the first place inventions of many sorts have increased beyond all prediction the available food supplies; second, developing intelligence has enabled the race to forecast the directions from which food failures are likely to come. At the same time, voluntary limitation of the size of families is a fact. The birth-rate in many communities is being intentionally lowered. Modern social students, therefore, have less fear of the old specter of starvation of the race. But we have not yet learned how to rescue millions from a life of poverty.

The interpretation of history. These fears of starvation and this general theory of evolution have combined to give us another theory almost as gloomy. This is the theory that man's life and history is determined primarily by his desire for material things. This is the economic interpretation of history. This theory assumes that men are still dominantly controlled by their appetites and material needs, and that they will sacrifice any higher good for the sake of lower and " more practical " goods. It is obviously true that all men have economic needs and some men appear to be completely controlled by their appetites. But it is also true that history has been largely made by men who have dared to deny all lesser motives in their devotion to some commanding ideal. Religion, morality, citizenship, and service are elements as real in human nature as are the appetites and desires inherited from lower living forms. Those animal desires and appetites are fundamental factors, however, and must not be ignored.

Individuals and groups which are sunk in the mere sloth and filth of a customary social group are largely, if not wholly, controlled by them. But the significance of man's intellect is found in his ability to understand sloth and stagnation and to discover worthy aims and means of realizing those aims, and so, in the long years, to escape from sloth and filth and mere habit and custom into a life of reason, a life of beauty and truth and goodness. Such a life will not just happen to the race. It must be worked for and won. But science and intelligence are slowly telling us how this can be done; and some day men and women who really want a world of beauty and goodness and truth will be able to bring it into being.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What is meant by the terms: "struggle for existence"; "survival of the fittest"; "mutual aid"? Do you find illustrations of them in your school or community? How do these factors affect modern social conditions? Do you find any such factors in the business or industrial world?

   ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapter II
   JORDAN: *Footnotes to Evolution*, Chapters I–III
   DARWIN: *The Origin of Species*, and *Descent of Man*
   HAYES: *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Part III

2. Chances for survival are not equal in all parts of the earth. Compare the rates of infant mortality for Russia, West Europe, Australia, India, China, Africa, and America, as set forth in the tables on page 197 of Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*. How do you account for these differences?
3. Consider the effect of natural conditions on the life of men in the Arctic regions; in the steppes of Asia; in the deserts of Africa; in the tropic areas. Geographies used

to tell about the "Great American Desert." Does that desert still exist? What has become of it? How has man overcome the desert? Has he completely overcome it? Consult physical geographies.

BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapter V
HAYES: *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Chapter III
MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 9–14, 423–426

4. Consider some of the great migrations of history; e.g., the wandering tribes of Central Asia; the migrations of the barbarians in the Middle Ages; the movements of Indian tribes in the Southwest. Biologies describe the migrations of the lemming in Norway. (*See* Jordan and Kellogg.) Is man subject to natural conditions as the lemming is? Consult histories for stories of migrations.

CHAPTER SIX

Principles of Group Growth

Human life is full of uncertainties. The earth is not a dead thing. Physical cataclysms of many sorts occur — earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tidal waves, floods. Individual impulses are not always calculable. A Napoleon may arise and plunge the world into wars. Among primitive groups, crises seem inevitable. Understanding, and hence control, of life is superficial in the primitive group. In times of crisis, old customs, habits, and traditions which have seemed to be permanent may turn out to be insufficient. In such times, the leaders lose their grip and chaos ensues. What, then, shall replace the older forms of control? Have these periods of crisis any social value?

The uses of chaos. Almost inevitably, the period immediately following any social crisis, such as war or revolution, is a period of chaos. Russia, since the Revolution, is an excellent illustration of this. Here we find an endless clash between fragments of the old order and the new desires, ambitions, feelings, and opinions of hitherto repressed groups and individuals. We find strong individuals emerging and attempting to control this chaos by the strength of their own personalities; or other more or less effective individuals attempting, usually with some military backing, to reëstablish old types of authority. Internal strife, growing out of personal and class rivalries, appears within the groups. Greece and Rome were destroyed in this way. Often, neighboring peoples, fearful of the

effect of these chaotic conditions upon themselves, or fearful of the doctrines held by the revolutionary groups, undertake to interfere and put down the disturbances by force. This was done to France after the French Revolution, and it has been attempted several times against Russia.

But this chaos cannot long continue. A period of chaos seems necessary; but permanent chaos would mean the destruction of all social order. Hence, if anything is to be saved, the group must either go forward into something more orderly and progressive; or it must go backward into some of its old-time customs and habits. Usually something of both movements takes place. That is to say, some new results are sure to come out of the chaotic conditions, but social order has usually been restored by a return to some old types of control. For example, Napoleon's empire brought order out of chaos in revolutionary France; but Napoleon could not last. France soon returned to her ancient kings and took time to think things over.

Within the last two or three centuries, some progress has been made in developing methods of using our intelligence in the control of society. For example, at the close of the American Revolution, the Colonies were in various stages of social, political, and economic chaos, with much rivalry and antagonism among themselves. There was a real longing for order, however. The Articles of Confederation having failed to secure unity, there were many who sincerely believed that the only hope of future progress lay in setting up a monarchy. Washington's refusal to accept the crown made the plan impracticable. The Colonies were compelled,

therefore, to face the task of working out plans and programs for a different future. They introduced a distinct innovation in the world's political life. They looked forward instead of backward for their guidance. Patrick Henry's famous statement, " I have no light by which to guide my steps but the light of experience," was not true for Thomas Jefferson, or Benjamin Franklin, or George Washington. They had another light — the light of imagination. This is one reason why they continued all their lives as statesmen, while Patrick Henry's name is scarcely mentioned after 1776.

This does not mean that they ignored the past, or the problems of the period in which they lived. They went to the past for facts and experience; they found problems in the present, and also, hopes and enthusiasms; they bravely looked into their own minds for the inventive imagination that was needed to combine knowledge and hope, fact and enthusiasm. They wrote the Constitution in the light of the past and the present and in the hope of the future, and laid the foundations of national welfare intelligently. This is the method of democracy. It takes account of the past and the present and builds the future out of both of them.

The meaning of progress. But not all change is progress. The term " progress " raises many problems, and not a few antagonisms. Some hold progress to be an illusion. They say that all young people plan to make the world over; but that these young people find, as they grow older, that this is a vain hope, not to be realized: the world just is, and the best thing to do about it is to take it as it is, and let it go at that. You can think progress; but there is no such thing in reality.

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FIG. 14. Groups seek to maintain themselves changeless. Contact with other groups may bring change. The Chinese built the Great Wall to protect themselves from contacts with alien groups.

Another theory holds that the course of progress is like a circle: we follow it around hopefully; yet after each age the world finds itself back where it started. But people have had the fun of thinking themselves progressive, and no one is the worse for it. Such progress is like a dog chasing its tail. A third theory holds that progress is of the nature of a spiral, in which the movement practically returns to its starting point, but at each round the world finds itself a little bit higher in the scale. There is still another theory which conceives of civilization as slowly achieving a more complete understanding of the world and a more complete mastery of all its resources of energy and power. Life according to this theory is a sort of open way which

grows ever wider toward the future. Gradually the race gains more effective control over the conditions of its welfare and the direction of its future, and so comes to have a progressively clearer conception of the real meaning of " welfare."

Motivations. Individuals, as well as groups, are of many sorts. Some people seem extremely indolent, content with little. Others are endlessly active, content with nothing less than all the world. Some desire ease more than anything else and can only be stirred to activity in the most pressing circumstances. Some seem to care for beauty; they are ready to starve or to freeze for the sake of beautiful things. Some care for nothing but to be of service to others, and to win the appreciations that come of service. Others seem to want some form of gain, such as money, goods, possessions. They will work, steal, lie, beg, or murder, for money. A few seem to care for nothing but the chance to be active, to express themselves in some way; to make something with their hands, to write a book, or to paint a picture; to make a canoe or a steam engine. Individuals differ widely in their motivations, in the things that move them. But the old doctrine that people are naturally lazy can no longer be maintained. Most people are continuously active in some direction.

In a measure, these differences are dependent upon environment. Changeless environments, such as the great desert areas of the world, select certain kinds of people for their inhabitants, whereas other people would find life there unendurable. On the other hand, the shifting, changing environments of the great cities of the world select other types, many more types. A

normal life in the desert is very different from a normal life in the city. But most people have some adaptability. They are not condemned to a life in any one place. They can move about from one environment to another and set up a new type of normal living in each new place. There is something in man that enables him to be a little superior to his environment, if he has the will to achieve.

Progress and group standards. If progress is to be real, we must have real criticism, the occasional overthrow of outworn standards, and the making of new and wiser standards. This means that we must admit that some old standards have turned out to be undesirable; and, hence (must we not admit?) some of our own are probably not final. Some of our present standards are narrow, low, accidental, sectarian. We have come to realize this as a result of the war. We are changing them to prevent the complete destruction of our group life. Such progress as the race has achieved seems not to have been in a straight line, but by long arduous zigzags, by failures, new efforts, and partial successes. Every one of us has a loyalty to some old standard. Even those individuals who strenuously criticize certain old standards are, usually, equally strenuous in guarding others. In every critical individual, there is a conflict between the old and the new, between the need of security and the longing for freedom. No progressive movement is ever supported by all the people. In every group where there is life and vigor the pendulum swings back and forth between the advocates of innovations and the conservatives. We can see this in the attitudes of various American groups toward such questions as

that of immigration; some want the gates closed against all foreigners; some want them thrown wide open.

How shall this difficulty be settled? Shall some of us consent to be conservative, facing ever toward the past, more or less bitterly condemning all innovations; while others face wholly toward the future, more or less bitterly contemptuous of the past? Neither position furnishes a possible solution, though either is easier than a third which we need to face. Is it possible to think of society as an organism within which growth and change are as natural as they are in the stalk of corn? Is it possible for us to conceive of growth or social progress, not as a lawless, revolutionary matter, but as a natural and desirable process? Is it possible for us to think of standards, not as finished results which are to limit change and growth, but as moving goals toward which society shall continuously grow? May we not think of standards as concerned with growing and developing life, rather than with stationary and unchanging forms of life? As tomato vines grow, they need support, and frames are provided to give them this support. Would it not be folly to think of those frames as fixed limits beyond which the tomato vines should not be permitted to grow?

Democracy and change. What can such standards of growth mean? And where shall we find them? We may find an illustration in our own history. Our American government is based on a constitution which provides in one of its articles for its own amendment. It is true that the Constitution is difficult to amend, and that it has not often been amended (only nineteen

amendments having been adopted in a hundred and thirty years). But whenever most of the growing and progressive intelligence of the people has insisted upon it, amendment has been accomplished. Certain modifications also have been accomplished without amendment, by the decisions of judges in the courts. Flexibility is likely to be an increasing characteristic of our democratic social order in the future. The growing intelligence of men increasingly accepts growth as of the nature of existence. Society need not wait for an external crisis, such as war. Within the social structure itself must be the provision for changing and adapting that structure. Not only have many of our states frequently amended their constitutions, but practically all of them have redrafted their constitutions several times in the course of their existence. Are such provisions for growth and change dangerous to our social order? Some people think so. But a social order with no provision for growth or change would not last long.

Two elements are worthy of consideration in connection with the methods of democratic social progress. One is science, the gradual extension of our knowledge of the world about us, of ourselves, and of our social environment. The other is social inventiveness, the capacity of the human mind to see wherein society is weak or ineffective or badly organized, and to work out new modes and organizations nearer to our social desires and needs. We shall see, in later chapters, how the spirit of science is extending itself to all ranges of our social life and organization, making it possible for us to deal with social problems in the light of an increasingly dependable intelligence. Democracy is not an accident.

It is the spirit of intelligence and justice, working at the task of making a desirable world. That is what the Fathers of the Republic were interested in when they established the new nation, and that is what we must be interested in, if we are to keep the faith.

We assumed above that a democratic social order must be a living, growing, changing order; that change is an essential element in social healthfulness. It is not mere change that we need, however, but intelligent change. Change, in our social order, ought to be related to changes in the conditions of existence, or to changed conceptions of social health and welfare. Physical disasters, such as floods, fires, and failures of food supplies, will occasion changes. Wars bring change. Industrial inventions are sure to compel change. Consider the changes brought about in our community living — whether rural or urban — by the automobile and the telephone. The invention of the steam-engine has profoundly changed all the conditions of human living. Since 1890, automatic machinery has come more and more into use in industry, and men have become more and more like delicate attachments to automatic machines, until some have come to be almost automatic themselves.

Now when conditions change sharply, as in the last century, new forms and new standards of living must inevitably emerge. What shall determine these? They may be controlled (1) by old habits and traditions, and by leaders who insist upon old customs and habits; or (2) by the mere personal impulses, the momentary desires, or the ambitions of some aspirant for leadership, or by some other equally casual factor;

or (3) by the ideals of progress and growth, established in the growing intelligence of the people, and by the leaders who have both knowledge and inventiveness to justify their leadership. Which of these three ideals of control should we consider most desirable in a democracy? Which is dominant today? One of the very great tasks of the future will be the settling of these questions in thoroughly democratic ways.

Of course, customs and traditions are real. Institutions of some sort are fundamental in every stable social order. Personal feelings and impulses are normal characteristics of every human being. These are the elements of the great social conflict. Between tradition, on the one hand, and innovating impulses on the other, there is danger of personal and social contests, which may destroy individuals and groups through either disruptive violence or equally destructive stagnation. The only escape from such results lies in the development of a sane belief in progress, in healthful change, in growing social programs worked out by the best intelligence of all the people of the community, for local conditions, and by the best intelligence of all the people and peoples of the world, for the nations and for the whole world.

Growth and change should not frighten people. Growth is the most natural of processes. All farmers depend upon the growth of crops for their prosperity. Stagnation is the alarming condition. Stagnation is bound to be followed sooner or later by the wild excesses of revolution. Growth is the one security against violent revolution. Growth is evolution; that is, it is of the nature of the world. Hence, it is not growth

that we need to fear; but stagnation, self-satisfaction, and lazy complacency. Of course, all who profit by maintaining the *status quo* will oppose growth, even the most natural and most necessary changes. They will say, "Put off all this agitation until the next generation." And all who are mentally lazy will oppose change, since change requires effort.

But we are in the midst of manifold changing conditions, political, industrial, moral, social, religious, and, under such conditions, resistance to the needed social reconstructions is of the nature of criminal folly, just as resisting intelligent health measures when a patient is suffering from some known disease is criminal folly. The true citizen and the genuine statesman will both try to understand the changes that are under way in the fundamental structures of the world; they will help to bring them to sane and intelligent conclusions. They will attempt at the same time to reconstruct our conceptions of human nature and of education so as to make a social order more completely adjusted to the new and changing conditions. Drift is destroying the world. Why should we not give science and intelligence a trial?

For democracy, no fixed and final social order is possible. Problems we shall always have with us. Intelligence is not for the purpose of giving final solutions to last and final problems. Intelligence is a social instrument which should be continually used in the solution of the recurrent and the new social problems. The future of the race will never be dull and problemless. Adventure is one of the certain elements of the future. Every generation will have its problems to solve. Life should be forever interesting.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Select some historic revolution — the French, or the English of 1688, or the American — and work out the various stages in its development.

What were the particularly repressive conditions against which the people revolted? How had these conditions arisen? What were the sources of the energies of revolt? Where did the leaders come from? What were the motives appealed to? To what extent did the revolution destroy old social institutions? Political, economic, international amities, conventional standards, etc.? How long did the period of chaos endure? Did it end by a return to old conditions or by the setting-up of new? Did results justify the expenditure of life and energy? Can any real progress come out of a violent revolution? Why? How? Out of a destructive war? Why? How?

Consult the histories of the period chosen.

2. How will *standards of order* differ from *standards of progress?* Why is there an endless conflict between order and progress? Why does the former usually prevail? What groups or other social elements are lined up on the side of order? on the side of progress?
3. Compare Prussian pre-war ideals of *Kultur* with American pre-war ideals of democracy. Did they differ greatly? Has democracy any right to suppose that continuous peaceful progress is possible? Can war and the militaristic spirit be harmonized with democracy? Is war a democratic method of progress? Has democracy been made safer by the recent World War? What are the outcomes of the war to date?

ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapters XIV, XV

BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapter XXIV

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 1057–1078

CHAPTER SEVEN

Institutions

Habits, customs, traditions, folkways, and folk-tales give the general atmosphere of much of our living, even today. In primitive times, when groups were small and the wants of the people were simple, practically the whole of life could go on under the control of custom and habit. Even the most pressing needs, such as keeping social order and securing food supplies, were then cared for by customs which made all members of a group participate in all types of activity. All were workers; all were interested in what we now call the civic order; all had a share in the religious ceremonials; and both children and adults were educated by taking part in all the activities and interests of the common life. As populations grew and group life became more complicated, the beginnings of more definite organization within the group appeared. This can be illustrated best in the matter of the division of labor. Some individuals had native capacities and interests which made them successful in procuring food, clothing, and shelter; hence, eventually, they took over the industrial tasks of the group. Others, less active of body than of mind, were more inclined to meditate on religious things; they became the priests and teachers. And still others were born with capacity for dominance and leadership; they became chiefs, or assistants in the handling of the problems of war and "the state." Thus, little by little, activities became centralized and specialized in definite forms within the larger group. The leadership of the

tribe was specialized in this way, rather early in group life, and the function became hereditary; that is to say, it became institutionalized.

The important point for us to observe is that each large definite need of the group gradually developed about itself the definite means of its own satisfaction. For example, the religious craving educated and maintained religious leaders, and eventually housed itself in temples and churches. The civic interest selected, educated, and maintained civic leaders for both peace and war, and eventually housed itself in temples of war or peace and, later, in city halls, courthouses, statehouses, and capitol buildings generally. Economic interests — developed at first in the wilderness — trained men to become hunters and fishers; then, in the more open country, to become keepers of flocks and herds; and, later, to become tillers of the soil. Within comparatively recent times, these economic interests have become centralized in factories and other types of industrial organizations. We should observe that these varied institutions have grown up around and in response to some real need.

The life of the earliest primitive men was developed in some sort of family group. But it was not the family as we know it today. The primitive family group generally included all the descendants, living and dead, of a common ancestor. They lived in one complete community, with an encampment of tents, if they were nomadic; or, if they had come to an agricultural life, their dwellings were clustered in a village. They frequently held a common property, and each one led a very simple, undifferentiated life. But the customs

and traditions under which they lived were very elaborate and strict. It is only within comparatively recent centuries that this family-community has broken up into the smaller family groups that we now know.

There was always some interest even in primitive times, in knowing about the world, about the processes of nature, about the crafts of warfare and of industry. All of these interests were controlled, however, by custom and opinion and were mastered under guidance of the elders. Within comparatively recent centuries, so much specialized knowledge has been accumulated, and group interests have become so numerous and highly diversified, that it has been necessary to organize materials for the education of the new generations. Thus, schools have come into existence, and the desire for knowledge is, at least partially, satisfied by going to the buildings where the desired knowledge is preserved.

What is an institution? These gradual specializations of interest, these divisions of activity, with their appropriate organizations of men and tools, have given us our major institutions — the home, the state, the church, industry, the school. Within that general range of group custom and tradition which guided the destinies of the race for untold generations, these instruments for more effective service have grown up. What is an institution, then? We may define it as *a fairly permanent social structure, developed within the community, for the purpose of meeting some human need.*

The term " structure " may require some explanation. It includes two elements at least. There is first the element of persons. Every institution gathers into its service a greater or smaller number of people, who are

devoted to the institution and who gradually come to think of themselves as particularly representative of that institution. Hence, we have church men, who are specifically connected with the religious interest; business men, who typify the community's economic leadership; school men who represent educational interests; and politicians and statesmen, who represent the political interests of the community.

But, beyond this personal element in institutions, there is a second essential. The idea of business gains substance and permanence by the great buildings in the heart of our cities. Churches are held together quite as much by the buildings they occupy and the rituals they perform as by the beliefs of their members. And the dignity of the state, or of the civic life of a city, is most vividly represented by an imposing capitol building or a courthouse. Institutions require buildings and other physical equipment to give them concrete reality in the feelings of their adherents and dignity in the eyes of others. Customs may dwindle, and traditions be forgotten; but an institution that has an imposing building in which to house itself may remain long after any service it could render may have ceased to be needed. Medieval society housed itself in massive castles to protect itself against attacks from barbarians. The invention of gunpowder made these castles practically useless for such purposes. Yet many of them remain as marks and symbols of a certain social age and, in some lands, they still house men and women who are as medieval as if they had lived five centuries ago.

The roots of institutions. Institutions are rooted in human nature. More than two thousand years ago,

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FIG. 15. Castle Eltz, on the Mosel River, Germany. In the Middle Ages all institutions undertook to fortify themselves, in castles and other great structures, against change.

Aristotle said, " Man is an institution-building animal." Men build institutions as naturally as birds build their nests, or as mussels build shells. The fear that men, in wild rage, may destroy the institutions of civilization is only partly based upon truth. They may do so, temporarily, as in the French Revolution. But men in society cannot live without institutions any more than a mussel can live without its shell. Therefore, immediately the work of destruction is accomplished, men set to work to build up a new set of institutions. This method of getting rid of the old is a wasteful procedure, and nothing here said is intended to justify such acts, except when men have no other recourse. The fear that men can permanently destroy human institutions is not justified; institutions are too deeply rooted in inescapable human needs ever to be lost.

Little children are so helpless and they need guidance and assistance for so many years that, if the race is to continue, some dependable social provision must be made for their care, nurture, and education. The family is the institution that has grown up to fulfill this need. In various ages and in various lands, this need varies. In some lands, children become self-supporting very young; there, the family may be quite temporary. In other lands, nurture, training, and education may continue until the children are eighteen or twenty-one, or even twenty-five. In such lands, the family will be a more permanent institution.

In all ages, normal men and women have demanded some sort of social order. Even the most savage tribes have some organization of groups. In the gold days of '49 in California, when violence grew too great to be

longer endured, vigilance committees were organized by the more orderly for the purpose of bringing the violent ones to justice. A " sense of justice " is found in the hearts of all decent men and women; and the state is rooted in this sense of justice.

Most people like to use their hands in making things. All people need food, shelter, and clothing, if they are to live. When the population is scanty and supplies abundant, the task of procuring these necessaries can be left largely to chance. Hunting of wild game may prove the only organized effort needed. But, as population grows and supplies become scarce, men must develop more definite plans of production and, eventually, of distribution. Modern industrial enterprises have developed to the point where they compass the earth and supply the millions living in a single city with foods and other necessaries from every corner of the globe. This tremendous organization of supplies is so important that, should it break down at any time, multitudes would soon suffer the most extreme privations. At the present time, the most complicated institution in the world is industry.

The most insistent question that primitive man asked had to do with his own destiny. In the effort to find a satisfactory answer to this question, he created all sorts of gods; he invented many kinds of religious ceremonials; he sacrificed animals; he sacrificed his enemies, and even his own children and friends; he defaced and degraded himself. Little by little, he escaped from these more brutal practices; and came to simpler, quieter conclusions. He housed his aspirations in beautiful temples; wrote great hymns; developed

mighty oracles and scriptures; and organized for himself high hopes of a happy destiny. "Man is incurably religious." But his religion takes varied forms of expression in different ages.

These great institutions are all rooted in needs and interests that are as old as the race. Each has often been changed and modified through the centuries, in order to serve its original need more effectively under changed conditions. The school, on the other hand, is a comparatively recent invention. Education of a sort there always has been, of course. For untold centuries, children got all their education much as modern children get certain kinds of education in their vacation periods. There is real education in play, in listening to conversations, and in participating in the common group life. But when the demands of life became so complicated, in growing communities, that such incidental education was not sufficient to prepare the children to take their places in the adult world, other modes of education more suited to the changed needs had to be devised. Little by little, schools came into existence, with special teachers, special libraries, and the gradually increasing number of elements that make up the school today. But all this has developed out of our need to know the world in which we live. Other new needs will bring us other new institutions.

The changing character of institutions. "Human nature," we are sometimes told, "never changes." In a sense, this is true. But, under changed conditions, very different expressions of human nature emerge. Any one of us may be several different kinds of person in as many different situations. As the world grows

more complex, more opportunities appear; more needs arise; more desires express themselves; and a broader range of institutional service is required. Ox-carts satisfied men in pioneer days. But if the elaborate organization of industry and commerce is to exist today, something more rapid than an ox-cart is needed. When men carried on business in one-room shops, they could easily consult their neighbors by stepping into the next shop. But when business is housed in forty-story office buildings, a more convenient means of communication must be found. The telephone meets this need and makes possible still further developments of business. Institutions must expand to meet the needs for broader service; and they must welcome many new inventions in order to give this service. Sometimes, as we shall see, institutions resist these demands. Sometimes they say, "What was good enough for our fathers, is good enough for us." Often they are willing to accept new privileges, but they are not always willing to accept larger and more exacting responsibilities.

Other forms of institutions. We are accustomed sometimes to use the word "institution" in a narrower sense. For example, within the general field of business and industry, we sometimes speak of a department store or a bank as an institution. In this sense, there are multitudes of institutions. But all these lesser institutions are factors in that larger and mightier structure, the institution of business and industry. Using the term in the narrower sense, we may see that many such institutions are of the nature of inventions. They have been developed to meet some specific need in industry. Money is an invention, though not a modern one.

Banks, for instance, while they have a certain history running back five or six hundred years, are, in their modern form, almost as definite inventions as the telephone or the flying machine. A corporation is a very distinct invention.

Life outside of institutions. Our more important institutions loom so large in our life that we scarcely realize the great areas of our community life which lie outside all institutions. Consider play. In most neighborhoods and communities, the play of children is still as unorganized and as spontaneous as it was in the most primitive community. This is not quite true everywhere, for, in some communities, playgrounds have been organized where children play under direction which is almost as strict as the rules of the schoolroom. Of course, athletics, baseball, and football are everywhere very closely organized. Much of the social life of young people is uninstitutionalized, save, perhaps, for the dance. That is to say, the social life is not run in a regular routine, as is school life, church life, industry, or the civic life. It is much more spontaneous, and perhaps for that reason sometimes much more enjoyable. There is no argument here that all our life should be organized into institutions. But we should learn to see that some parts of our lives are institutionalized and other parts are still subject merely to the old influences of custom and incidental interest. We are trying to see the structure of society and this fact is a part of it.

We have now uncovered the following important social factors: The many types of groups; the numerous varieties of individuals; the development of communities out of groups; the formation of institu-

tions within groups and communities; and the fact that we live partly within, and partly outside of, institutions. Every individual is intricately interwoven into and through groups, communities, and institutions. Is there any wonder that he sometimes feels far from free? With all these complicating factors about him and within him, should we be surprised that he has many perplexing problems to understand and to solve?

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What are some of the changes of form which political institutions have undergone from the days of the primitive group to the present democratic state? What have been the reasons for these various changes?

   TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapters III, IV, V, VI

2. What was the form of industrial organization in primitive groups? Were all groups organized on the same line? Why? What changes in industry took place in the history of Athens? in the Middle Ages? in the Industrial Revolution? What changes are now going on? What changes in industry are now taking place in your local community? Why?

BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapter XIII
MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 955–973

3. What changes have taken place in the form of the family?

BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapter VI
ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapters III–VII

4. Look up the history and development of some of the more specialized institutions; for example, the bank; the theater; advertising; the department store; transportation in city streets; newspapers; the Sunday school; motion pictures; the "skyscraper" office building.

The encyclopedias may be consulted on most of these topics.

5. Discover the beginnings and development of the first bank in your community. What has been its history? How do you explain the changes? Consider the topics under question 4 in reference to your community. What actual services do these institutions render the community? What institutions have ceased to serve the community? Are there any "dead" buildings, that once housed vital activities, in your community? What has become of the old activity?

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Sources of Our Social Problems

The development of institutions has produced many desirable results. Human needs have been satisfied in ways that would be impossible without this development. But the growth of institutions has tended in some ways to defeat the very purposes for which institutions were organized. In the primitive community, for example, every member had a real share in the products of industry. As long as the group had any food or clothing or shelter, every one had a share of it. A whole tribe might starve to death through the failure of food supplies; but no individual ever starved to death while others about him had things to eat. In the modern world, the reverse of this is not unknown.

Their responsibility of institutions. Under the control of industry as it exists today whole multitudes of our population in great cities may live in extreme poverty, while others have more of the goods of life than they can consume without waste. And though today no large group or nation would be permitted to starve to death while the rest of the world had food, yet particular individuals in our great cities have starved even in the midst of plenty, because they had no way of securing the goods they needed. So, although production of goods has been tremendously increased in recent years, great areas of our community life are in poverty because they have no adequate share in the goods that are produced. And still larger numbers fail to get the education they need, because industries are

now so far apart from the common life that children have little chance to master the world of work. In cities, many young people grow up utterly ignorant of industry, though once industry was the chief means of education.

In the same way, the development of schools has tended to pile up wonderful stores of information in books and libraries and in the trained minds of teachers. But this knowledge, being largely kept within the covers of books, does not touch the life of the community in any vital way, and therefore does not produce the effects in community life which such stores of knowledge should produce. One result of this is the endless quarrel between the practical man and the theorist. The theorist is supposed to be the man who knows everything there is in the books, but whose knowledge is of little value in the affairs of the world. He makes foolish suggestions about the uses of knowledge in work and, as a result, he is scorned by the ordinary man. On the other hand, the practical man is the man who has never had any use for schooling and has learned all he knows by actual, and often bitter, experience. He is ignorant of the great generalizations of science; he attempts to do things by "rule of thumb." Though he frequently succeeds, he as frequently fails. And, in all large undertakings, involving principles of engineering or science, if he succeeds at all, it is by a fortunate accident. Who can tell which is the greater obstacle to progress: pride in a bookish knowledge or pride in ignorance?

Every member of the old primitive community took part in all the affairs of community life. But, as

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FIG. 16. A new homestead in the "bush," Nelson district, New Zealand. The family living here has problems; but its problems are different from those of the people who live under conditions like those shown on pages 54 and 115.

community life became more complex, institutions with specialized functions developed which appealed to particular groups of individuals who rallied round them. This was especially true of industry, government, and religion. Hence, little by little, these three groups — the religious, the political, and the industrial — became important and distinct. Each gradually developed its own private standards and interests; each set up its own tests of accomplishment; each sought its own development and prestige; each claimed to be the most important support and defender of the whole community; each sought for increase in its own membership; each educated its members to its own particular way of looking at the community.

The results of this development are plain today. In the primitive community, every one had a chance to share in industry. Religious ceremonials took place in the open air, for the most part, and in the sight of all the people. The civic life was simply the expression of old custom under the control of the elders. Today, industry is divided into thousands of trades and occupations and is shut away in factories and offices into which one may not go without special permission. Civic institutions are gathered into two or three centrally located, forbidding buildings — the courthouse, the city hall, and perhaps the jail. The religious life of the community is confined within church walls. Modern life seems to have no room for religion in the factory or in the courthouse or in the schoolhouse, and very little room for it even in homes.

Losing the community. So, while the development of our various institutions was necessary for the larger education of the community and for meeting its growing needs, yet something of the community has actually been lost in the development of institutions. Men and women who hold positions of responsibility often lose sight of the community. They work for the development of their own institutions, for the prestige of their own group. They come to think of institutions as ends in themselves; and they are jealous of the encroachment of any other institution upon what they have come to consider their own particular preserve. Religious leaders talk religion; business men talk business; politicians talk politics. Rarely does any one consider the whole community. Hence, we may say that we have nowhere today a single community. We have

many small communities within the shadowy form of the whole community. Individuals identified with specialized interests seldom attempt to relate those interests to the welfare of the community as a whole. They assume that the promotion of their own interests will assure the welfare of the community.

Some of our greatest social problems grow out of this specialization of institutions, and the refusal of these institutions to consider their relationship to the life of the community as a whole.

Take, for example, the former problems of health. Industry used to disclaim responsibility for the purity of the food it produced, and for the healthfulness of working conditions in the plant. The school, until recently, ignored all education of the community on the subject of hygiene. The church placed its emphasis upon life after death rather than upon a virile and prolonged present life. The state, which is, after all, only one institution in the community, has slowly and unwillingly assumed the functions of food inspection, garbage disposal, adequate quarantine provisions, and the like. Yet health is essential to the community. Responsibility for the defense of public health rests not upon any one institution alone, but upon all the institutions of the community, upon the community itself. Can institutions claim rights in the community without accepting responsibilities in the community?

Reforming our institutions. Industry was once the whole community's way of providing for its own physical wants, — food, clothing, and shelter. At the same time, it was the most important instrument of education for the children of the community. Today,

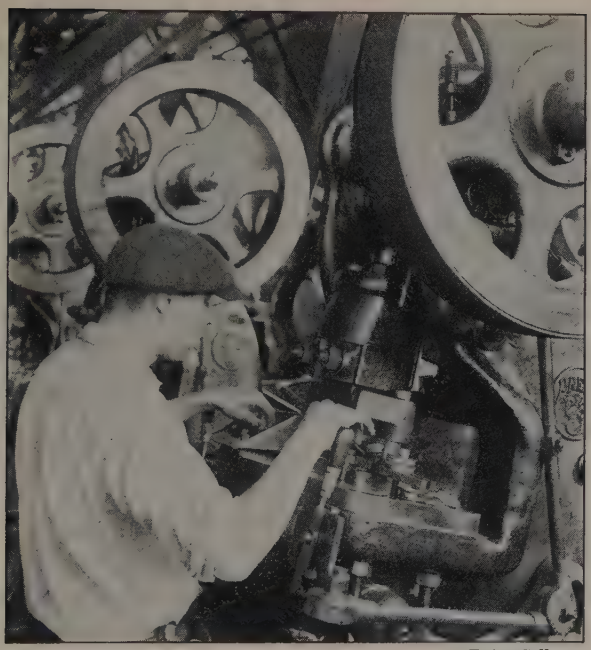

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FIG. 17. Some machines completely overshadow the workers. Men must work at speeds set by the machines. If they are either too fast or too slow, they get hurt. This machine has modern safety devices, which make accidents less frequent.

industry is the activity of a specialized group, only incidentally concerned with making what the community needs, but concerned rather with making a money profit. New industries are continually being developed with little thought of serving the real needs of the community, either physical or educational, but primarily that the promoters may make money. Industry does not belong to the community any more.

Civic activity was once the interest of the whole com-

munity, providing for order, stability, and such opportunities as the customs and traditions of the group called for, including the opportunity for the community to plan and act together in defense against hostile attacks by foreign enemies or against rebellion at home, and to develop that spirit of a common life which assures the permanent existence of the group. Children, in those days, grew up to feel themselves actual members of the group, and early realized their responsibility for its future life; and this made them in good time careful and responsible citizens. The whole life of the group was knit together by common knowledge and interest. Today, it is unfortunately all too true that civic activity is the interest of a specialized group, the politicians. Sometimes this group narrows down to a small inner circle, a ring, as it is called. Such a group sometimes comes to feel that it has a right to maintain itself by exploiting the community. In such circumstances, the only education the civic activity offers to the young people of the community is education in bad manners, dishonesty, and indifference to the welfare of the community. Some of our most difficult social problems grow out of this feature of our community life. Our institutions are dislocated from the common life; they work for their own prestige; they ignore and neglect their larger obligations; and the community suffers.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all our social problems grow out of the defects of our institutions. Men had social problems long before they had anything that could be distinctively called institutions.

Physical problems. Some problems exist because of the nature of our physical life. Men are not wholly at home in the world; we seem to wage an endless quarrel with nature. We are dependent upon nature for the satisfaction of all our physical wants, food, clothing, and shelter. The task of making sure of these necessaries is an endless one, and the race is never many months ahead of its available supplies. Among primitive people, failure of food supplies always caused a decrease in population.

In modern times, production has greatly increased. Man's ingenuity has even made arable the waste spaces of the desert, and there seems almost no limit to the extension of food production. Nevertheless, the limit of fertility has been reached in many areas. Wild game has practically disappeared; the forests are threatened with destruction; only by the most active provisions and prohibitions are the food fishes of fresh and salt water preserved from extinction. The problem of conserving the sources of food supply and providing shelter for every one is constant, for population increases very rapidly under favorable conditions. In pioneer days in America, in spite of the hardships of existence, the native white population doubled approximately every twenty-five years.

Another physical problem is found in bodily weakness, sickness, and disease. Fifty years ago, men were being destroyed by epidemics of typhoid fever, malaria, yellow fever, smallpox; by pneumonia, tuberculosis, and the like. Whole tribes of Indians were decimated by smallpox. The difficulty of maintaining health and vitality is caused partly by the crowding of individuals,

especially in congested areas of the city. Tuberculosis is common in such quarters, and for this reason tuberculosis is sometimes called a social disease. But there are other diseases which are the result of the natural conditions under which we live. Certain of these, such as yellow fever, medical science has practically eliminated.

Furthermore, we are liable to all sorts of accidents. In primitive times, men faced perils on land and sea, as we still do. We, however, have many complicated mechanisms, such as railroads, aëroplanes, and automobiles which make modern life more precarious than the world of primitive men.

The problems of the individual. Another type of problem is that presented by the defective child, the idiot, or the feeble-minded individual. Such a person is an individual fact. In so far as a proper employment of the principles of eugenics would eliminate all defectives, the problem is social. But, until we adopt a tangible program, we have these defective individuals to deal with. The natural criminal is another example of this type of problem. Many criminals are made so by wrong upbringing; but some seem to be congenital perverts.

There is, also, always the problem of the ignorance of the individual. No matter how excellent our schools, children will always be born ignorant, and they will always have to learn to know the world. This is a task which grows more tremendous as the world's store of knowledge increases. The individual who does not learn such parts of that knowledge as are necessary to fit him for the life about him becomes, just to that extent, a social problem.

Some individuals are creatures of primitive impulses, more or less strong and exacting. Not infrequently, these impulses are wild and lawless, and can be brought under control only through years of discipline; at times, they plunge individuals into lives of viciousness and criminality which destroy them and taint the whole community.

Another characteristic which we may not wholly charge against institutions is the weakness of individual wills. Some individuals seem to have no real capacity for action. They have great hopes and expectations; they expend much energy in wishing; but they seem to have no ability to cross the line between desire and action. Some of this weakness is due to bad education; but weakness of will is quite as definite a fact in some individuals as bodily or intellectual weakness. Such individuals make up a considerable part of that ineffective group who seem unable to hold their own in the modern world or to take unsupported places in the community — the shiftless and the ne'er-do-wells.

Social problems. Finally, we come to a group of problems which distinctly grow out of social conditions; that is, out of the defective organization of our institutions. These are our social problems, in the narrower sense of the word. They are due to group and social entanglements and antagonisms; to institutional lacks and failures; and to the possession by some individuals and groups of too much social power. A characteristic example of this sort of problem is found in poverty. It is true, of course, that some poor people are industrially inefficient. On the other hand, there are groups made up of thoroughly efficient individuals who lack power

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FIG. 18. Under some conditions the individual must look out for all his own needs. But this peasant girl in France goes to the community bakery to get the family's loaf of bread.

to control the conditions of their lives and to secure such a share of the wealth that they help produce as will lift them above the status of poverty. They are poor not because they are individually inefficient, but because industry as organized does not give them an adequate opportunity to share in the wealth of the world. Or again, they may be poor because they have never learned how to use their incomes wisely. Their education may have been at fault; their standards of expenditure may be unwise; they may be spending their incomes for

things that have no real value. This is true, not only of groups close to the margin of physical subsistence, but also of groups whose standards call for lavish and conspicuous expenditures for which their incomes are insufficient.

On the other side of this situation of poverty will be found individuals whose chief characteristic is a sort of social tyranny. These are usually in positions of responsibility which give them control over the fortunes of large numbers of men and women. They say, "I have a right to run my business in the way I see fit"; and so they refuse to consider grievances and complaints. They had rather see an industry go down in chaos than to make concessions; they are industrial tyrants. They have, however, been produced by society. Once, men could run their affairs in their own way. It was the glory of pioneer America that each freeman could be a king on his own homestead. That was before the development of modern cities; and at a time when large-scale industries had not yet placed tremendous areas of community welfare in the hands of a few individuals. Industry is indispensable to the community and the nation. It is the community's means of livelihood. Hence, it is the community's business to make sure that industry serves the community and that one part of the community shall not destroy some other part. Later, we shall see what such a statement means.

The explanation of our social problems. Out of these various causes spring all of these characteristic industrial and social difficulties which today agitate the community. The great dispute between labor and

capital arises out of a disagreement as to the origin of these problems. The workingman argues that most of these problems grow out of social conditions and institutional failures, and that they could be corrected by a reorganization of institutions and changes in social conditions. The typical capitalist insists that practically all of these problems are due to causes found either in nature or in human nature; and therefore they cannot be cured by any reorganization of institutions. This side holds that the individual is hurt by institutional care; that the country needs strong individuals capable of standing on their own feet, and that the real hope of the worker is to " get ahead " by making use of the opportunities that present conditions offer.

It is likely that each side is right in its positive assertions, but wrong in its refusal to consider what the other side suggests. We all need to recognize the social problems which exist because of the physical conditions under which we live; and we need to see the difficulties which come of our individual failures and defects. These factors, workers need to face. On the other hand, capitalists should see that there are many social problems which grow out of nothing but social conditions which could be changed, — conditions, not natural and inevitable, but in large measure traditional, accidental, and, therefore, subject to change. The fact that one group may over-emphasize these conditions is no reason why another group should ignore them altogether.

In the long run, nothing but harm can come of the refusal of any individual or of any group to consider the causes and conditions out of which our social problems grow. Revolutions always come of abuses long ignored.

Study of causes may compel us to criticize some of our institutions. But institutions that cannot stand careful, sincere, thoughtful criticism are probably hiding social evils and sheltering social wrongs, and need to be criticized all the more completely. To be sure, — and this is one of the reasons for the study of sociology, — no man or woman has any business to criticize conditions or institutions unless he really knows something of the conditions or the institutions about which he is talking. Our institutions need intelligent criticism, just as an apple tree needs intelligent pruning. Institutions are living things, just as apple trees are, and, like apple trees, they can be destroyed by ignorance. And, of course, institutions can die of old age, just as trees can — and do.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What efforts have been made in recent years to secure the coöperation of institutions in your community? to federate any of them? What are the obstacles in the way of such coöperation or federation? Do individual leaders object? Do the institutions, industry, religion, the school, and the home have little or nothing in common? What are the relationships between industry and the schools? between business and government? between the schools and the churches? Can one be a business man and a church man at the same time?
2. What factors make an individual identify himself with some specific institution? Why does one person interest himself in the church, another in education, another in politics? Is one justified in feeling that interest in one direction releases him from all responsibility in all other directions? Is a man who thinks more of the whole community than of his own group a traitor? Should a business man criticize the attitude of capital toward

labor? Is a student who stands for the school rather than for some small group a desirable member of the school? Do separate institutions find it possible ever to coöperate? Was there any such coöperation during the war? How did it arise? Does it continue? How do you explain these facts?

3. Consider the cost of scientific progress as illustrated in the stories of Walter Reed and Jesse W. Lazear. Is it worth while?

Encyclopedia Americana, Volume XII
New International Encyclopedia, Volume XVI
(Articles on Walter Reed; on Yellow Fever)

4. Consider the waste of natural resources and the development of conservation programs.

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapters XV and XVI
BEARD: *Readings in American Government and Politics*, Chapter XX
DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapters XXII and XXIII

5. What illustration do you find in your community of social problems, growing out of physical conditions? out of ignorance and individual inefficiency? out of tyranny and too much power?

CHAPTER NINE

Health

We have been developing a point of view from which to see the realities of our present social order. We have come upon the individual and the group; we have seen something of institutions, their services and their failure to serve; and we have noted, at least briefly, the way in which social problems develop in the midst of all these elements. Social problems compel us to analyze our social history and our present social conditions. They challenge our best efforts; they test and demand application of our knowledge. In later chapters we shall consider various social problems in detail. Here, by way of illustration, we shall deal with the problem of health.

The field of health. Do you recall any epidemic or contagion in your community of sufficient severity to require the suspension of all social affairs and other voluntary activities? Were the schools closed? Were the stores and factories closed? Imagine then a community in which all social intercourse was stopped by a contagious disease. How long could such a condition of affairs continue?

Imagine, on the other hand, a community where there was little severe sickness, but where every one complained of tiredness, headache, physical weakness, and the like. How much pleasure would that community take in its work and its play? How much could such a community produce as compared with the amount produced by a healthy group? Note, moreover, how

one ill leads to another. If a community is unhealthy, it will produce little. It will, therefore, be poor, badly nourished, badly housed; hence, it will grow more unhealthy than before. You may have known families in which this " vicious circle " operated.

Fundamentals of the health problems. Here, then, are the two fundamental aspects of the health problem: (1) The elimination of diseases; and (2) The upbuilding of vigor and health. These are, of course, inextricably interrelated and interdependent.

Obviously, if the human race were overmuch subject to ill health, it would gradually die out and give way to less susceptible stocks. It is likely that, in the long centuries, many weak stocks have been eliminated. In practically all our activities we assume that individuals are strong, full of vitality, able to endure and to enjoy. An industry is only half efficient when it must be continually allowing for the absence of one worker today and another tomorrow. Not only is the labor of that individual lost, but the whole routine of operations is upset; those who are working on later processes cannot be supplied with materials and must stop their work; and foremen must spend their time attempting to adjust the gaps. In the country, illness at seed or harvest time is particularly disastrous. What ill health can do in the way of upsetting governmental affairs was vividly illustrated by the illness of the late President Wilson in the last year of his administration.

As for the individual himself, health is at the basis of his whole life. If he is vigorous and strong, he will find pleasure in all activities — in work, in play, in social entertainments, in community enterprises. If he is ill

and unable to take an active part in these affairs, life for him will probably lose its zest, his interests will narrow, and his sources of joy be correspondingly restricted. Social intercourse will be more of an irritation than a pleasure; and an attempt to work will leave the bitter after-taste of ineffectiveness. As we learn how to make life longer and more vigorous, we make it more worth while.

Preventable waste. The average duration of life in India is twenty-five years; in Sweden, fifty years; in Massachusetts, forty-five years. In Europe, during the last three and a half centuries, the probable length of life has been doubled. Obviously, then, health is a factor over which we can exercise some control. Professor Irving Fisher, in his report on *National Vitality*, says:

> From (certain) data it is found that fifteen years could be at once added to the average human lifetime by applying the science of preventing disease. More than half of this additional life would come from the prevention of tuberculosis, typhoid, and five other diseases, the prevention of which could be accomplished by purer air, water, and milk.

Do these seem unreasonable or unattainable — "purer air, water, and milk"? To insure purity of these supplies, there must be both social and individual responsibility. Who should be responsible for the community's water supply? For the community's milk supply? Who shall cure the overcrowding, the smoke-filled air, and the badly-regulated living conditions which lead to tuberculosis? The doctors of the community? The city government? The industries? The private

citizen? The national government? Who is going to be responsible for these general factors in community healthfulness?

Professor Fisher estimates that at all times in the United States about three million persons are seriously ill, of whom about half a million are consumptives. Half of this illness is preventable. "If we appraise each life lost at only $1700, and each year's average earnings for adults at only $700, the economic gain to be obtained from preventing preventable diseases, measured in dollars, exceeds one and a half billions." What is the loss from these causes in your community?

What stands in the way of health? Vigorous health and ability to resist disease demand certain minimum physical standards. In primitive times, the life of a whole tribe was frequently menaced by famine. A failure of crops in such overcrowded countries as China or India may still cause the death of millions of the poorer inhabitants. The distressing conditions arising from crop failure have only recently been brought to our attention by the Russian famine of 1922. In rich America, famine is surely not a factor. Yet John Spargo says:

> Massing the figures from New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Chicago, we get a total of 40,746 children examined, of which 14,121, or 34.65 per cent, either went breakfastless to school or had miserably poor breakfasts of bread and tea or coffee. . . . Results certainly tend to show that the estimate that 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are badly underfed is not exaggerated. There are doubtless many more children who go without lunch than without breakfast.

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FIG. 19. Tens of thousands of poor Chinese live in floating huts such as these. This is a typical river scene in China. What chance have these people for health and a long and happy life?

What is the explanation of such a condition? Are the families to which these children belong too poor to buy sufficient food, or are they simply ignorant of the laws of health? What is the remedy? It would appear that the problems of health and the problems of poverty are related. It would seem also that a comprehensive program of health education for both children and adults is essential. Notwithstanding the work of the National Children's Bureau and of many state and national health officials, life is still far from secure. It is estimated that there are 95,000 unnecessary infant deaths in the United States every year. Ignorance and poverty are the two chief factors in this appalling total. It is evident, then, that we cannot hope to have general good health while we

remain ignorant, or while large numbers suffer from poverty.

Between adequate food supplies and assured health there lie, however, many important problems. There must be not only sufficient food; there must be proper, wisely chosen, well-prepared food. In the Middle Ages, some of the most deadly pestilences were the result of the limited diet of the peasants. Similar results appeared to some extent in the World War when diets were far from normal; particularly in the countries of Central Europe. But it is also true that diets in the American home are often not conducive to health. Consider the facts and causes of pellagra[1] and other nutritional diseases.

The social control of health. The citizen who is interested in health soon learns that he must be interested in home conditions, in government, in education, and in industry. Our city officials inspect the milk supply; or, if they do not, babies die by hundreds in our cities in the summer time. Should corrupt or careless officials be held responsible for any such preventable deaths? Are the citizens who elect such officials also responsible for those deaths? Medieval plagues and "visitations" were frequently caused by lack of sanitation. Our city officers now take charge of all garbage and sewage and provide such sanitary arrangements as make plagues improbable. They go to the far mountain lakes and streams or construct deep artesian wells to secure water supplies that shall be unpolluted and of the best mineral quality. Some

[1] King, "Pellagra and Poverty," *The Survey*, Volume XLVI, page 629, September 1, 1921.

years ago, the great packing houses were found to be very dirty. Now, our Federal officers inspect factories where canned foods, or various food materials in bulk, are prepared, and their inspection protects us against many kinds of poison, dirt, and disease. National and state health departments study the various problems connected with health and disease and issue bulletins for the information of the many groups and individuals working at those problems throughout the country.

But bad food and lack of sanitation are not the only causes of bad health. Fatigue poisons and weakens all the bodily tissues, making them susceptible to disease. Industrial accidents and diseases maim the body and shorten life. Nervous breakdowns are frequent in our hurried modern life.

City life, today, puts tremendous strains upon the nervous system. The constant noise of crowds and traffic; the struggle for seats in cars and for places at bargain counters; the endless walking on hard pavements; the distractions of numberless competing claims upon the attention; the strain of the effort to keep up appearances — all these demands have placed upon the nervous system such strains as had never been known before the coming of the modern city. Most nervous systems are unprepared for these strains. No one knows how completely a nervous system can make its adjustments without breaking down under the demands. Degrees of insensitivity do develop, of course — and keep people from hearing, seeing, and being annoyed by a thousand and one distracting things. It may be that the city dweller of the future will have to depend on his capacity to become insensitive in order

to live at all. At present, these nerve strains frequently cause actual nervous diseases, breakdowns, insanity, manias, and the like.

The condition of factory workers in England in the early days of the Industrial Revolution was indescribably shocking. Men, women, and children worked fourteen, sixteen, even eighteen hours a day, every day in the week, and, in some cases, under conditions which ruined their health in a short time. It was thought that long hours increased production. But so far have we progressed from this idea that less than a century later, in the British munition factories during the World War, the hours of the women workers were reduced to six, not for humanitarian reasons, merely, but because it was found that this shorter day actually increased production. The eight-hour day is now the generally recognized standard in industry, and there is a strong demand from certain quarters to reduce the hours still further. We know now that a body filled with "fatigue poisons" cannot do effective work. Physical activity is healthful and pleasurable, when not excessive. Even excessive expenditure of energy for short periods is an aid to the blood and the muscles. But continuous fatigue, breaking down nerve cells and muscular tissues, is a very real menace to health. Most industrial leaders are beginning to realize that increased efficiency in production offsets all the expenses of supplying healthful conditions of work, including pure air, good light, proper rest periods, fair hours, and pay which will finance a reasonable standard of living.

What are the rights of institutions in this matter of health? Have factories the right to pour out clouds

of smoke and noxious fumes over the community? Should cities have the right to compel railroads to use electricity and so eliminate the great clouds of smoke which are not only unpleasant but dangerous to the health of thousands of people? Has the state the right to insist that proper guards be put about dangerous machinery, and that insurance against industrial accidents and diseases be provided for the worker?

What are the responsibilities of institutions with regard to health? Certain causes of impaired health can be said to be largely personal. Some of the problems of food, household sanitation, exercise, and personal hygiene can be solved by individual effort. But the individual must be supplied with information concerning ways and means. He must be aided in innumerable ways. Some of these problems are, however, purely social, not to be solved by any individual alone.

The problems of disease. The problems presented by disease germs and toxins are step by step giving way before patient, persistent medical research and the developments of chemical and biological science. Many diseases are due to the existence in the body of microörganisms hostile to its health. So far as medical science discovers and conquers these organisms, it extends its ability to cope with diseases. The medical history of recent decades is full of the romance of high endeavor and startling discoveries. Consider, in this connection, the stories of Dr. Walter Reed and Dr. Jesse Lazear.

Certain loathsome diseases are usually referred to as the "social diseases," though they are anti-social, and can usually be avoided by all who live a healthful social

life. These are the venereal diseases. They are almost always the result of loose living, although occasionally an innocent person becomes a victim of their ravages. They are among the most destructive of all diseases. They are particularly dangerous to society because they so frequently pass on their destructive blight to little children, causing the endless sufferings of infantile blindness, various deformities of body and mind, locomotor ataxia, and death. It is to be hoped that society will soon learn to protect itself against these diseases by the segregation of those defectives who are not able to guard themselves against them, and by isolation of all the depraved and diseased individuals who exist as sources of infection in the community. We all need to have the most complete information about these diseases. But medical science has become so skillful in controlling and covering up their outer symptoms that nothing but an honest pride in clean living can fully protect the individual against them. A high sense of the decencies of life and responsibility for unborn generations of children who have the right to be born strong and free from taint should also help to keep all honest men and women in the ways of clean living.

Recreation and health. One of the most effective instruments in warding off damage to health is proper recreation and healthful physical activity. Even though one has proper and sufficient food, pure air, and water, and leads a life of normal work interests, there is still something lacking for complete healthfulness. The child at play exhibits a certain amount of random and practically useless motion. He tries out his muscles by

various feats of skill; he expresses his abounding energy in sheer overflow of activity. This is not accidental; it is a physiological necessity. The recognition of this need for free and relaxing activities has resulted in the development in modern cities of playgrounds for children, and recreational activities in the way of games and parties for old and young alike. Country communities naturally have a good many recreational activities, although they seldom provide the necessary amount of organized and social play. Since the organization of play is not everywhere considered a proper function of government, such work is being done in many places by voluntary associations of citizens, and is proving an important help in building up community health, as well as community pleasure.

What is a social problem? We speak of health, then, as a social problem. We talk so much of social problems, that it might be wise to inquire now just what we mean by the term. We are apt to think of it as some startling, new, abstract, or dangerous thing. But some social problems are very commonplace and as old as society; sickness, poverty, injustice, and crime have tried the endurance of races from prehistoric times. To the millions of individuals whose lives they injure or wreck, they are very concrete and real. To such individuals, they are not so much a huge social maladjustment as a black personal tragedy. Rarely can the individual himself solve even his own particular part of the problem. It involves too many factors and too many other persons in the community beyond the control of an isolated individual. Swift-spreading contagions or industrial accidents are illustrations of

the personal and yet social character of the health problem; but this is no less true of the slower effects of ignorance of proper hygiene. Unaided, the individual neither realizes the cause of the trouble, nor knows the cure.

In considering social problems, therefore, we trace out the particular problems of individuals and groups. Such a study is not an easy thing. Problems assume new aspects as conditions change; natural and personal elements are inextricably tangled. One thing, however, is certain about the solution of these problems: they must be worked out socially. That is to say, they must be understood by the individuals and institutions involved, and all must share in the task of solution. Eventually, we shall see that this means that our great social problems involve every person and every institution. The question is one of learning, bit by bit, how to make those intelligent adjustments in all our community and individual living by means of which the good we long for can be provided and evils reduced and avoided. Individual responsibility is fundamental. But many individuals have not yet learned how to accept social responsibilities; and some individuals are probably not able to meet such responsibilities without help. Hence, the problem of health will long be a matter of coöperation between those individuals who can organize their own lives and the public officials who are compelled to take summary action against those who do not or cannot meet their own responsibilities.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Compare the cost of sickness with the cost of disease prevention. What are the facts in your own community?

MOORE: *Public Health in the United States*
FISHER: *National Vitality*, pages 33, 34, 37–49
BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology*, Chapter IV
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter XXI
BLOOMFIELD: *Problems of Labor*, pages 313–324
KELLEY: *Modern Industry, Its Relation to the Family, Health, Education, and Morality*, pages 41–72

2. What are the functions of "public hygiene"? of "semi-public hygiene"?

FISHER, *National Vitality*, pages 36–64; 64–82

Consider the effects of the work of General Gorgas in connection with the Panama Canal. Why did the French fail in their efforts to dig the canal?

3. "The rate of infant mortality is an excellent index of the condition of a country as to its poverty, ignorance, and social carelessness." Explain this statement. What are the causes of high infant death rates?

WOLFE: *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 194–218
TOWNE: *Social Problems*, pages 370–374

4. What is the state of public health in your community? What is the birth rate? The death rate? Are these data accurately registered? What is the source of your water supply? What do the analyses of the water and milk show with regard to purity? How is garbage disposed of? What health education work is being done? By whom? Do any menaces to health exist in your community? What is being done about them? What constructive measures can you suggest? Have you a health department? What is it accomplishing? How is the health problem related to industry, politics, or religion in your community?

CHAPTER TEN

Modern Social Organization

When a few hundred thousand Indians were the only occupants of the territory of the United States, their problems were no doubt important, but they were distinctly different from those which confront the hundred million people who occupy the same territory today. But, even at the present time, there are areas in America where the population is almost as sparse as in pioneer days, and where the conditions of living are still primitive. For the most part, however, all over the country, group presses upon group; and in some areas, as for instance the great cities, the population is incredibly congested. With this growth of population and these varied types of living conditions, many interesting developments occur.

The growth of cities.[1] The most amazing phenomenon of modern times is the growth of cities. By the census of 1850, 40.6 per cent of the population was agricultural, 46.9 per cent lived in villages of under 8000 population, and 12.5 per cent lived in communities of above 8000. By the census of 1910, 34.6 per cent of the population was agricultural (a loss of 6 per cent); 26.5 per cent lived in villages of under 8000 population (a loss of 20.4 per cent); while 38.9 per cent lived in communities of above 8000 population (a gain of 26.4 per cent). That is to say, more than 26 per cent of the population shifted from rural to urban communities in those sixty years.

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 668–682.

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FIG. 20. Ricksha congestion in a Shanghai street. The vehicles may be different in China, but the congestion of traffic is quite as great as that which the American city knows.

Cities grow up around industrial developments. A striking illustration of this is seen in the growth of Detroit in the decade 1910 to 1920. The development of automobile manufacture more than doubled the population of Detroit in that period; from less than half a million it grew to more than a million. Many other cities showed similar growth, each for specific causes. Consider Los Angeles, for example.

What these developments involve may be understood from the following statistics concerning Chicago. In 1918, that city had 1350 miles of street railways. It was the center of 27 steam railways, coming from every section of the United States. It exported direct to foreign lands, in that single year, more than $76,000,000 worth of products. (How could it do this?) It had

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FIG. 21. Automobile congestion, Fifth Avenue, New York City. Our cities were laid out before modern methods of transportation were devised. Now we shall probably have to make them over in order to find room for the automobiles.

288 schools, with more than 377,000 pupils; 31 libraries; 820 newspapers and periodicals; 84 hospitals. It had a police force of 4706, a single group equivalent in size to the entire population of a small town. The municipal expenditures for 1918 were more than $76,000,000.

Other illustrations of modern large-scale developments.[1] When Andrew Carnegie died, in 1918, he left a record of having accumulated more than $800,000,000, practically all of which he had given away or disposed of in trust funds prior to his death.

The World War cost more than $186,000,000,000, of which the Allies and the United States spent

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 664–699.

about $123,000,000,000, the Central Powers about $63,000,000,000. This is, of course, but a part of the total cost of the war, since that cost is still accumulating.

In the Roman Empire, a courier could make 120 miles a day on good roads. In 1492, Columbus crossed the Atlantic in 70 days. In 1819, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic made the trip in 25 days. In 1919, a hydroplane crossed in 26 hours and 47 minutes actual flying time.

The first laws of the United States provided that the election of the President should be held in November, while his inauguration should take place in March. The reason for this lay in the fact that it took some months to gather the election returns, and to make the journey to Washington. Today, the telegraph, the telephone, the cable, and wireless telegraphy give us the news at once. We learn yesterday's happenings in all parts of the world from the morning paper. So far as waiting for the election returns goes, the President could now be inaugurated within a week after election.

The modern increase in goods and services. Consider the tremendous increase in the production of goods. The modern department store shows this expansion in a great variety of wares. Its windows display an amazing variety of goods for sale; and a trip through the dozens of departments which make up a big store will reveal to the average person innumerable articles he never saw before, and the use of which he can only conjecture. Some of these articles have been developed in response to needs already felt, not his needs, perhaps, but those of some one else. Many of

the articles, however, have been manufactured in the hope that they would create a demand. In this way, the needs of people are partly the cause, and partly the effect, of the production of goods. Some inventions precede, and some follow, the expression of human needs.

Modern society has also developed an amazing expansion of service. Slaves and serfs have disappeared; and even personal servants are being displaced by impersonal services of many kinds. The democratic community will eventually contain none who belong permanently in the " servant " class. In a normal and healthy community today, each serves, and is served by, practically every other active member of the group. These services are not always conscious and immediate, but they are very real. The clerk in the shoe store may sell you shoes today and collect your offering in church next Sunday. Not only is this the fact with local groups and communities, but, increasingly, local groups and communities serve, and are served by, individuals and groups in distant lands, by people whom they have never seen, and sometimes in such ways as would be shocking to a sense of justice if all the facts were known. We have all heard about the " great American breakfast table " to which people from many parts of the earth contribute their fruits, cereals, and many other kinds of food.

These developments of new wants and needs, this expansion of service and production of new goods causes many old elements to disappear. Certain trades and professions are defunct, and goods once deemed indispensable, such as the reticule, the snuffbox, and the powdered wig, have practically disappeared.

Changes in social organization. At the same time, institutional forms change. There has been an almost incredible development of voluntary groups; i.e., groups deliberately organized, like clubs, societies, fraternal organizations, for a variety of purposes. Every community has its organizations of this kind for men and women, for young people, and even for children. Practically every trade and profession has its appropriate association, and the number of fraternal organizations seems limited only by the number of emblems that can be imagined. In addition to these, we have all sorts of learned societies, local, national, and international, involving many new forms of intercommunication, such as newspapers, magazines, and other types of periodicals. The growth of language illustrates it still further. The earliest English dictionaries contained no more than fifty thousand words. Recent ones contain upward of six hundred thousand. Many of these new words are technical terms from the vocabularies of particular sciences and vocations. Life broadens wherever science is working.

Our political institutions show a similar development. Certain new services require new modes of organization and regulation. For example, the development of railroads has brought to the fore many difficult economic and social problems which call for legislative solutions. The result has been the organization of several legal and technical boards, like the Interstate Commerce Commission, whose function it is to serve the interests of communities in their dealings with the railroads. In the modern city, this enlargement of municipal functions is taking place in many fields of civic interest.

Present-day tendencies toward governmental regulation and control of private business indicate the likelihood of still further expansion of political mechanisms.

The school shows corresponding changes. Since the days when there was but one type of school, which emphasized the " Three R's," we have had developments in two main directions. Schools have become specialized in " culture," trades, vocations, professions, the arts. This specialization has called for great expansion in each of the subjects taught. Every branch of human knowledge as it has been developed by scientific investigation gradually finds its way into the curriculum of some school.

Pressures of many sorts upon the family have tended to produce, or have even compelled changes in the organization of that institution. Apartment houses make impossible the sort of family life that developed in a common neighborhood. Economic pressure sends many mothers and children to work outside the home to supplement the family income, so that for many it is true that the home has become merely the place where people sleep. On the other hand, modern industry has taken practically all creative work out of the home, so that the woman who stays at home after her children are grown up is frequently left with little or nothing to engage her attention. Her life in these circumstances is not always socially useful.

A new type of world. These changes in our social living, are giving us a new type of civilization. Science and commerce are rapidly transforming the bases of our living until most of us are very far removed from the sources of our supplies. Most people know little of

where their food comes from. We live in a technological world, a world that is being more and more constructed by engineers, by specialists in many lines; a world that runs with the speed and accuracy of machinery. But machinery is subject to breakdowns; machinery demands power and guidance. From thousands of directions such a world calls for specialists, and specialists frequently lose themselves in their own little fields and forget how to talk any language but their own. The specialist makes the world and understands his part of it. The rest of us push buttons and do not understand.

In such a world there are ties that enmesh the whole earth. All the peoples have become interdependent, giving up some of their old activities, specializing in a few, and depending upon the rest of the world to supply them with what they lack. Thus, every nation suffers when war or any other cause interrupts the regular lines of traffic. A couple of years ago, corn was selling for eight cents a bushel in Iowa, while millions were dying of famine in Russia. Moreover, world-wide traffic in goods increases the opportunities for speculation and gambling. International demands are not always ascertainable; supplies cannot always be computed. The wheat grower in Dakota cannot always foresee whether he will have a market for his crop or not. The risk of international business is one of the serious items in the cost of living today.

Shadows on the landscape. In connection with these developments, we need to note some modern forms of graft. Every enlargement in any of our community interests gives scope for new forms of

parasitism. The modern community offers many opportunities to men to live "by their wits." It makes room also for new forms of crime. For example, the invention of nitroglycerin gave the burglar a new tool. But the work of the burglar stimulated the invention of burglar-proof safes and called for new forms of police protection. The whole story is a many-sided give and take, each side striving to outdo the other. The World War showed us how our interests may interlock. The use of submarines in warfare stimulated the inventive capacity of the nations, and some amazing devices for defeating the submarine were suggested. The development of public opinion was one of the startling achievements of the war period, too; and some say that propaganda had more to do with winning the war than did big guns. Certain groups coöperated in antagonizing other coöperating groups. No one was entirely free from these far-reaching lines of opinion and organization. Young men and women were drawn from the remotest corners of the earth by these forces of world coöperation and antagonism.

The structure of the world community. We are sometimes told that "the community is just the sum of the people who make it up." But this is not literally true. Any community is more than the things that are visible to us. It contains customs, traditions, institutions and controls reaching out of all the past of the group. Some communities are more largely controlled by their dead members than they are by their living ones. Some communities are so bound by custom that they spend a great deal of their energy repressing and even suppressing all criticism, all intelligence. Before

the Russian revolution, Russia sent all her critics to Siberia.

But communities are also largely under the sway of the opinion of other communities. The world is becoming a large community today, and no nation can live wholly to itself. At the least it must have commercial dealings with other nations. The moral power of nations over each other has in it both good and evil. It fires some nations with good intentions. Others copy nothing but the externals and the tricks that they see in nations about them. The nations are going to school to one another and, out of all these interminglings and interlearnings, the structure of a greater world community is slowly emerging. The World War destroyed much. But the men and women who learned to think of world events in connection with it will never be able to give all their thoughts to mere trifles again. Henceforth, they will give at least a part of their lives to causes big enough to be worthy of deep and lasting devotion. But many have already found that in time of peace it is easy to drop into some obscure corner of this complicated social order, to shuttle back and forth in some fragment of a task, and to know little about what is going on in the world.

The task of knowing the world is extremely difficult, since its interests and activities have become so intricate. One can be a fairly good worker in a fragmentary task and know little else. But any one who intends to have any large share in the civic, economic, educational, and religious life of the world today must understand something of the conditions under which he is living and the social factors with which he will have

to deal. To attain an understanding of this sort will require time, energy, and a determined will. Any one can get something of it; but it cannot be handed to him by a teacher.

No large service can be rendered in this modern complicated world without taking time to get ready for that service. Of course, short cuts exist; men have been known to get rich by some accidental combination of circumstances. But unless men are prepared to understand what they signify, riches achieved in such a fashion are likely to destroy the owner. Dr. Richard T. Ely, the famous economist, said recently: "Now as never before in the history of America, the call for educated men and women exceeds the supply." Modern society is an exceedingly complicated machine, and it requires expert engineers to understand it. No one can possibly make a mistake in giving time to secure an understanding of the intricacies of modern social organization.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Chart out the network of relationships which surround some average individual of your community: (*a*) His privileges as a member of the community. — To what clubs does he belong? What are his means of enjoyment? (*b*) What are his services to neighbors, employers, and the community? (*c*) What people render service of any sort to him? (*d*) What relationships has he beyond the local community? (*e*) What uses does he make of his money?
2. Study the organization of the largest department store in your community and consider the range of the services it performs. What are the sources of its various goods? the destinations?

3. Study the growth of advertising. Contrast the advertising space in some standard magazine, such as the *Century* or *Harper's*, of 1900, with an issue of the same magazine today. Consider the relative amounts of space devoted to advertising; changes in the character of the advertising; changes in the types of goods offered. What new types of goods have come into use since 1900? Study the want and display advertisements of the local papers and work out the range of the wants and needs set forth. What has "fashion" to do with these things?

   MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 786–823
   LAWRENCE: *Making Him Buy*
   BALMER: *The Science of Advertising*

4. Consider the differences between some rural community of today and the same community twenty-five years ago. What changes have taken place? How does the rural community differ from the primitive community? Discuss with men fifty years of age and over the changes that have taken place in America in the last twenty-five years — the drift to the cities, the growth of big business and industry. What have been the effects upon the rural community of the rural telephone, rural mail delivery, and the automobile?
5. What form is the world community of today taking?

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Organization of Industry

The study of industry belongs primarily to economics, but modern industrial organization has given rise to certain important social problems which are properly described and discussed in sociology. It is impossible to deal with these problems intelligently without considering the conditions which have produced them. Consequently, we must take a brief look at the organization of modern industry.

The evolution of industry. Like every other social institution, industrial organization has its history. Industry has meant much in all human living; its results have been closely related to the happiness or the woe of the race, and the history of the industrial order has been filled with dramatic episodes.

Primitive men always lived close to the margin of subsistence. All early forms of production were extremely precarious. The hunter never knew whether he was to feast or to starve. But when primitive man had domesticated certain animals, and so had secured a more definite control over his food supplies, the fear of starvation was somewhat removed, the foundations of civilization were laid. For example, milk is an important element in the food of a people, and one of the reasons given for the failure of the American Indian to achieve a higher level of civilization is that he had no milk-giving animals.

Again, when industry became agricultural, and slavery became the chief source of labor power, certain

individuals were released from the fear of hunger and from toil and were thus enabled to devote themselves to culture and intelligence. But, later, the servile feudal system of the Middle Ages showed how impossible was the dream of a civilization which exalted a few and degraded the many. Hence, for a time, in the later Middle Ages, guilds of free workmen arose. These guilds made work respectable; they promised an age when work would be the ambition and the joy of every one.

But before such a universal ideal could be realized, wonderful sources of new power were discovered: the steam engine was invented; new supplies of raw materials were found in America, Africa, and Asia. As a result of these changes came the Industrial Revolution, which took industry out of the homes and small guild shops and established it in centers where power could be generated on a large scale and where many workers could be grouped together. The "modern era" with its "wage system" and "capitalism" had come into existence. Did this mean that the evolution of industry had come to an end? On the contrary, as we shall see, continuous transformation of industry is one of the characteristics of the modern age.

Large-scale industry. The most striking characteristic of modern industry is its large-scale organization. Within limits, large-scale organization makes possible real economies in plants and operating plans, in the purchasing and assembling of raw materials, in stabilizing production, in securing world-wide markets, and in the distribution of products. Illustration of this development may be found in the steel industry.

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FIG. 22. Compare this harvester of the French Alps, cutting wheat with a scythe, with the method of harvesting shown on page 139.

Up to the year 1900, steel production was in the hands of many independent plants. In 1900–1901, the United States Steel Corporation was organized, and other large corporations have developed since then; so that steel production now is controlled by a few large-scale corporations. Production has increased enormously since 1900. In that year, the United States consumed something more than 27,000,000 tons of iron ore, and produced some 10,000,000 tons of steel of all grades. In 1918, we consumed in excess of 75,000,000 tons of iron ore and produced in excess of 45,000,000 tons of steel. That is to say, iron ore consumption increased less than 200 per cent in the twenty years, while steel production increased more than 300 per cent.

Government statistics indicate that from 370,000 to 500,000 men were employed in the iron and steel industries of the country in 1917.

Practically all the major industries of the world have been or are now being organized on these large-scale lines. The railroads offer another illustration. The first railroads were short systems, each independent of the others. In 1870, a traveler going from Chicago to New York had to change cars several times; that is, at the end of each system. He was thus subjected to much inconvenience and delay. In the decades following 1870, that situation was remedied. One of the leaders in this reorganization of the railroads was Commodore Vanderbilt. He organized the New York Central Railroad, and a direct service between Chicago and New York City was the result. For this service to

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FIG. 23. An American "combine" harvester, which cuts and threshes the wheat and delivers it in sacks on the ground. Such machines are used on the large farms of the West.

the public and to commerce, he received $100,000,000. But the existence of many competing systems of railroads over the country still indicates waste and inefficiency. The railroads of the country in 1914, as separate competing systems, handled 277 billion tons of freight; the same roads in 1918, as a single system, handled more than 400 billion tons. The fact that 1918 was a war year has nothing to do with the point of the argument.

The interrelationships of industry.[1] The development of industries on a large scale has brought about a corresponding growth in related industries not only in the United States but throughout the whole world. For example, all industries are dependent upon the railroads for supplies of raw materials, for coal and oil, and for the shipping of the finished products. In the same way, most industries are closely dependent upon the coal mines for fuel, upon iron mines for materials, and upon forest industries for lumber. The dependence of world industries on oil has become apparent as a result of the present fears of oil shortage, and recent international difficulties in many parts of the world, notably in Mexico and Persia, have grown out of efforts to control the supplies of oil in those countries. In 1880, the total production of oil in the United States was a little more than 26,000,000 barrels; in 1900, a little more than 63,000,000 barrels; in 1918, nearly 356,000,000 barrels. Failure of oil supplies ties up, at least temporarily, every industry using oil.

In the spring of 1920, railroad traffic in many parts of the country was paralyzed by a strike of switchmen.

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 405–412.

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FIG. 24. Upson steel mills along the Cuyahoga River, Cleveland, Ohio. Here railroads and water transportation meet at a great steel mill. A fine illustration of organization on the large scale.

With the breakdown of the railroads, an embargo was placed on freight shipments, and many industries were compelled to shut down either partially or entirely. Efforts to meet the problem of freight shipments by truck fleets were not successful; American roads have not been made substantial enough to carry such heavy traffic. The volume of traffic was too great for any hastily devised substitute. The total volume of traffic in 1918 was noted above as over four hundred thousand million tons. The total number of automobiles of all sorts in the country at that time was not above five millions. If each of these machines had been a freight truck, each must have carried 80,000 tons to handle such

a volume. But even if such an enormous task could have been organized, the automobile roads of the country could not have carried the load.

Another aspect of this intricate network of industry is seen in the development of "interlocking directorates." Many industries are so closely related to each other that each feels the need of being represented on the board of directors of every other so that each shall know what is taking place in all the others. Such interlocking arrangements tend to develop financial and industrial groups which control economic power and often wield dangerously large political influence. This political influence has sometimes been referred to as "the invisible government." But, of course, the invisible government includes all other unfair, insidious influences also.

The growth of industrial cities. Another phase of these modern developments is seen in the growth of industrial cities. The amazing growth of Detroit around the automobile industry has already been noted. The "steel city," Gary, Indiana, is another striking illustration. In 1902, the present site of Gary was a wilderness of sand dunes and swamps. Two decades later, a city of 60,000 people stood there, built up around great steel plants.

Mention has been made of the fact that, in 1850, 87.5 per cent of the population of America lived either in the country or in towns of under 8000 population. Of this rural population, 40.6 per cent was definitely agricultural. In 1910, but 61.1 per cent of the population lived in the country or in towns of under 8000, and of these 34.6 per cent were agricultural. That is to say, there

had been a loss of 6 per cent in the agricultural population; and a loss of 20.4 per cent in the village population. On the other hand, the population of cities of more than 8000 was 12.5 per cent in 1850, while in 1910 it was 38.9 per cent, a gain of 26.4 per cent. Such a shifting of the population from country to city shows the transformation which is taking place in our national industries. Agriculture illustrates this. In 1850, farm work was still largely primitive, tools were simple, fields small, production slight, markets local. All the work on the farm was done by laborers. But, before 1860, the reaper was invented; other inventions came in rapid succession. Fewer laborers were needed on the farms; more were needed in factory towns to help to make the farm implements. The transformation of agriculture by the use of modern tools, and the demand for workers in factories, were factors in making 26 per cent of the population of the country shift from rural to urban centers between 1850 and 1910. Of course, this meant a corresponding transformation in all our institutional organizations, especially in our homes and schools.

Changing types of products. Agriculture, mining, and the other basic extractive industries produce goods that are continuously in demand. Why, then, can they be operated by an ever decreasing percentage of the population? Because more and more of the work is done by machinery. What, then, becomes of the surplus labor thus released? As methods of manufacturing machinery become more and more standardized, labor is drained off into many new forms of activity. New industries develop, such as the making of automobiles, radio outfits, and aëroplanes. Modern

society calls constantly for new sensations; it demands jewelry, household articles of luxury, food delicacies, the endless examples of conspicuous waste decreed by fashion. Little by little, the old household industries have been taken away from the home and "socialized"; baking is organized in bakeries; washing in laundries; delicatessens make kitchens less necessary. The home is less and less a place where people work.

Newspaper staffs number hundreds of men. Culture demands dancing masters, elocution teachers, Chautauqua lecturers. Hundreds of thousands of teachers are needed. Industrial reorganization on a large scale turns great areas of the world's hardest physical work over to machines, releasing millions of men and women into the highly congested, highly stimulating, and not always healthful life of the city with its variety of services, its tremendous contrasts in well-being, its uncertainties as to employment and income, its wild scrambles for various forms of culture and social standing, its quest of amusement and "something interesting."

The development of economic interest. Inevitably, the worker in the large-scale enterprises finds his only chance of human freedom in association with his fellow workers. He is $\frac{1}{500{,}000}$ of the steel industry, a rather small and unimportant fraction. But, if he can unite with a large number of his fellow workmen, he may become one half of the industry, and thus achieve importance. Whatever else the trade union may do, it at least offers the worker a chance to escape from his subordination to a machine into real human relationships with his fellows.

Parallel to these associations of workers, which have power to tie up a whole industry by a strike, are organizations of employers for the purpose of controlling wage and working conditions throughout a whole industry. Each side seeks to secure its " share " in the product; each lays great emphasis upon its indispensability. The relationships between the two sides of the industrial dispute today are stated differently by different interests. One interest calls the situation " war," the " class conflict " which must be fought out to a finish. Another tries to think of it as merely a sort of " strained peace " (since " the interests of employers and workers are identical "), to be settled by moralizing and " welfare work." A third thinks of it as a normal and inevitable conflict of interests, to be dealt with by means of collective bargaining. At present, the growth in importance of arbitration boards and mediation officials seems to indicate that the third idea is making most progress. But this development illustrates the amazing complexity today of industrial processes and managerial responsibilities.

Competition or coöperation? For years, the slogan of business was " competition is the life of trade." In recent decades, however, this slogan seems to have fallen into some disrepute. Competition seems often to be the death of an industry. In the two decades from 1890 to 1910, to go no farther back, the railroads of America were almost ruined by building competing and often useless lines, and by lowering rates until business was carried at a loss, a practice leading ultimately to the bankruptcy of many of the roads. Each road was trying to defeat the others.

The motive of coöperation underlies the development of large-scale industry. "Pooling of interests" has come to be one of the dominant hopes of industrial organization. This "pooling" was long supposed to indicate the effort of industries to escape from the benefits (to the public) of competition. Hence, Congress in the early '90's forbade pooling. But competition is a wasteful process, and unendurable in the long run. Present tendencies indicate that public opinion and law will gradually be modified to permit pooling under such public regulation as will prevent monopoly control and monopoly prices. The solutions of these problems are still in the future. The social engineers of the next generation will have to face them.

Small-scale industry. But not all industries have been modernized and reorganized on this large-scale plan. In fact, there is a surprising number of small plants, employing from ten to a thousand men, still left in the industrial field. Many types of work are not adapted to large-scale organization. Some industries have attempted to develop large-scale organization, only to find that they could do better work when organized on a less pretentious scale. For example, certain food-producing industries, in which quality of the product counts for quite as much as quantity, are finding small-scale work rather more desirable.

Many workers, too, find large-scale industry impracticable. This is true of many women. Women have always been workers in their homes. The home was always a small-scale industry. Many women workers now find large-scale industry unpleasant or impossible, because of traditional prejudices, ignorance,

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FIG. 25. The largest water-power dam in the world, on the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa. This dam is 4278 feet long and is concrete without reënforcement. The generators have an aggregate capacity of 200,000 horse power, and much of the current is transmitted to the city of St. Louis, 145 miles away.

lack of skill, or, in many cases, danger to their health. Many such workers still wish to work, and they cling to, and support, those remnants of the older home industries which still persist. Such industries easily become "sweated." That is to say, an industry which is still carried on in the home, without sufficient capital, without adequate mechanical power, without effective organization, cannot compete with large-scale organizations doing similar work unless it beats down the wages of the workers to starvation levels. The sweatshop is a breeding-place for poverty and indecency.

But not all small-scale industry is to be identified with the sweatshop. Indeed, the developments of modern power engineering point to the time when industry may begin to swing away from the large-scale unit, toward

a smaller unit of organization which will make possible a considerable decentralization of the great plants and the complete reorganization of our methods of living. Electric power, distributed over long circuits, will bring cheap mechanical assistance to many small industries now struggling to maintain themselves against the competition of the great industries. Each small shop can have its own private motor, buying its power from some great central plant. It is not impossible that we are now moving in the direction of a great revival of the small industry, with all that that would mean for our community life, for our education, our homes, our release from smoke and dirt. The actual physical organization of industry will probably undergo tremendous transformations in the next decade or two.[1]

Large-scale industry is not, on the whole, organized and controlled today by the highest forms of social intelligence, just as our political life is not. Evils of

[1] "Specifically, the new industrial revolution which the inventors and administrators are going to bring about must make possible the increasing decentralization of industry.

"It must stop the herding of factories and their workers.

"It must regularize production and distribution, and forever do away with the seasonal fits and starts, the alternate booms and depressions, that now disgrace our administrative intelligence.

"It must solve the problem of unemployment, for which the only remedy is continuous employment.

"It must lay the ghost of insecurity that now haunts the mind of labor, and it must face frankly the effect upon workmen of the repetitious labor which machine production makes necessary.

"This is a pretty large order, but I think it can be filled. I think it will be filled, not because the business men and manufacturers of the next ten or twenty years will be any better morally than the men who managed the old industrial revolution, but simply because these problems must be solved before the business of the future can be successful in any large and permanent way."

EDWARD A. FILENE, in *Collier's Weekly* for November 17, 1923.

appalling dimensions creep into all forms of industrial organization. Industry is still in an experimental stage. The sweatshop is an evil that will be rooted out as fast as social intelligence rises to the realization of its menace. The large industry has, in the past, made insidious bargains with corrupt political forces for the maintenance of vested privileges and for the control of alleged rights. Industry is the foundation of the life of the community. By industry, the community lives and has its material being. The whole destiny of the community is involved in the welfare of industry, and the community will gradually assert its right of complete oversight. The community of the future will know what is going on in industry, whether in the sweatshop or in the plant that employs a hundred thousand men.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What was the nature of the medieval guild? Was it an association of employers or employees?

   MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 82–85; 91–93
   TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapter VIII
   See also medieval histories.

2. When did large-scale industry begin to develop in America? In what industries did it first develop? Why? What has been its general development? What are its prospects as to the future?

   BEARD: *Contemporary American History*, Chapter II
   ELY: *Evolution of Industrial Society*
   COMAN: *Economic History of the United States*
   BOGART: *Economic History of the United States*

3. What are the factors which limit large-scale organization? Can organization ever become too large?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 400–403; 646–662

4. Look up the story of the development of any of the big corporations, such as those dealing with steel, sugar, tobacco, meat packing. Why has there been so little organization in agricultural industries?
5. In regard to the interdependence of industries, find concrete results of the railroad strikes of 1920 in the disorganization of various industries.

Reader's Guide for 1920 on subject of outlaw strikes and railroad strikes.

6. What are the ten leading industries in your community? Approximately how many workers are employed in each? How was each of these functions carried on a century ago?
7. What do we mean by "capitalism"? Could capitalism exist without "capitalists"?
8. What part is played by machinery in agriculture? Is its use increasing or decreasing?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, page 429
GILLETTE: *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Chapters VII–IX

CHAPTER TWELVE

Our Industrial Civilization

In less complex social orders than our present industrial society, men could see the meaning of their work.[1] The craftsman in the Middle Ages bought his materials, worked them through various processes, and sold the finished product in his shop. The apprentice, learning his work step by step, obtained an insight into the complete industry, and knew that in time he would be master of every branch of its skill. He knew, too, that that mastery would give him the means of a secure livelihood. Usually, his work offered possibilities of introducing variation, of showing originality, of creating new patterns, or of excelling other craftsmen in the quality of the product. Work was one center of interest in the life of the craftsman; it was closely connected also with his other chief interest, his family: each interest supported and understood the other. Ordinarily, the home and the shop were under one roof; the sons in due time were apprenticed to the father's trade.[2]

Large-scale industry. Contrast this situation with that of the workman in a modern industrial plant employing hundreds of men. How much increase in interest, over a period of years, is possible to the workman handling red-hot steel in a finishing mill? The work demands dexterity, it has the thrill of danger, it

[1] Chapter Twelve develops some of the social problems growing out of the conditions set forth in Chapter Eleven. (See also Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 27–33.)

[2] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 48–94; 640–646.

pays well. But it consists of the constant repetition, day in and day out, of motions which must not vary. An operation that may be completed in a matter of seconds is repeated for hours.

It is likely, is it not, that a workman, in the first weeks of holding such a job, takes active pride and interest in it? Over a period of months and years what is there to prevent this interest from dying out? What does the workman know of the other processes of the plant? What does he know of the machine he feeds? How much interest has he in it? What chance is there that he can improve the process? That he can improve the product? That he can raise his wage?[1]

What of the unskilled girl who handles the raw materials in a canning factory? What of the woman who sews seams in garments, working with the swift, ceaseless rhythm of her machine? What of the longshoreman who unloads cargoes? Can these workers see the effect of their efforts on the finished product? Can they feel themselves more than part of the mechanics of a process? We deplore the readiness of the worker to change his job, and to "drift." But can these detailed jobs hold a worker's interest for long? The effectiveness of large-scale industry depends upon this minute division of labor. But what is to become the center of interest for the individual working at such details? This is a question which affects his whole attitude toward society. It offers one clue to the problem of "social unrest," about which we hear so much these days.

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 267–279; 397–400; 549–567; 609–614; Marot, *The Creative Impulse in Industry*.

What interests the worker? The statement is frequently made that the worker is interested, not in the job, but in the pay. But does he get so much pay that it compensates him for the lack of congenial, stimulating work? Money is worth only what money can buy. Can a wage buy "outside interests" equal to the old interest of the craftsman in his work? Furthermore, if pay is the only motive to work, should the management expect efficient, interested work from its employees? When wages are high, do they buy more than when they are low?

Can a worker find his interest in the labor union? Some say he should be interested not so much in his job as in the organization of all the workers. This would give him fellowships, a sense of power and self-respect; it would protect his wages and assure him his job as against, for example, an arbitrary foreman or a seasonal "shut-down."

Some say that a system of shop management installed in a plant for the purpose of giving the workers a share in the control of the conditions of work would restore some of the old interest. It is an open question today as to how far any of these developments could restore the old sense of actually belonging to a trade or an industry. In some instances, they have proved effective both in "protecting the worker in his job," and in checking the continuous movement of workers from one part of the country to another and from one industry to another. But large-scale industry scarcely makes a worker feel permanently settled today.

Standards in large-scale industry. The old craftsman worked long hours, but he was master of his own

time. If work is no longer interesting, how many hours of work should be necessary, each day, to earn the leisure needed for the development of real interests? Does any one know what length of workday will give the largest productive result? What is the proper length of a workday in modern industry?

The need of rest periods varies with the monotony of the work, the speed, the danger, and the strain on the nervous system. Thoughtful adjustment of rest periods not only increases efficiency; it favorably affects output; it reduces industrial accidents and builds up the worker's health. It has been proved that light, air, and temperature have great influence in counteracting industrial diseases. Are these matters proper subjects for welfare work? Should standards be uniform throughout an industry, or vary from plant to plant? Who shall make these standards? Who shall be the judge of their effectiveness? These are important questions in the social problem of health.[1]

The interrelationships of industry. We saw in Chapter Eleven that industries have become so interdependent as to create groups of managers or capitalists powerful in many branches of industry. This lodges great power in the hands of a few individuals. In the past, the concentration of political power in the hands of leaders has had definite effects upon their psychology. It has made them "drunk with power." It has made them shrewd, cunning, often cynical. It has sometimes made them autocratic and tyrannical. Is this less true of power derived from control of industry?

[1] Daniel Bloomfield, *Modern Industrial Movements*, "Management Sharing," page 169; Marot, *History of Trade Unionism.*

To what extent do these individual powers influence governmental institutions? We hear much about "corruption" in our government. Is corruption an inevitable corollary of "big business"? How dangerous is it to our social order? How can it be avoided? Consider the extension of the powers of our Federal Government in recent years, as for example through the Interstate Commerce Commission, through the Federal Trade Commission, and in the enforcement of the national pure food laws. Does this show any relationship of cause and effect between our economic and our political institutions?[1]

Industry has important bearings on questions of peace and war. Under certain conditions, an industry may desire war. That is to say, the sources of raw materials and the markets for finished products are important matters in business. Any extension of national control over territory where materials may be found, or products sold, is welcome to the business world. On the other hand, industry in general fears the uncertainty of a state of war, the interruptions to commerce, the high taxes, the currency fluctuations. From this standpoint, industrial interests demand peace. Of course, the greater the number of contacts, commercial and otherwise, between nations, the greater the number of opportunities for disputes, and the greater the opportunities for developing both serious antagonisms and helpful coöperation.[2]

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 463–466; 475–480; 722–732; 1034–1041.

[2] Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, Chapter VIII; Krehbiel, *Nationalism, War and Society;* Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold.*

The growth of industrial cities. The great movement of population from the country to the city has had profound social consequences. Many country communities have been drained of their younger people, of their most enterprising citizens, of their intelligent critics. Such communities stagnate in old habits, customs, and ignorance, so that the life there becomes dreary and dull.[1]

On the other hand, enterprising elements of great variety from all the peoples of the world gather in the city. Most of them turn their attention, not to developing a community life which will satisfy the needs of all, but rather to " getting ahead," to the fulfillment of their private desires. Their expectations are not always realized. " Social competitions," competitions in expenditure and in waste, allow no stopping place, no point where the goal of " social success" can be said to have been reached. Meanwhile, the great majority who enter the race find themselves caught in the wheels of a great machine and are unable either to understand or to escape.

Various immigrant groups, with their inherited antagonisms, have been brought together in these centers of population. Often, they are ignorant of American customs and standards, and weakened by constant economic pressure. No wonder there must be struggles for housing reforms, struggles against municipal graft, struggles against industrial exploitation. " Success " and " failure " are two sides of the

[1] Rowe, *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter XXV; Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, Chapter XXXI; Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology;* Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street.*

same picture. No industrial city is made up of successes alone; the city as a social unit shows many successes and many tragic failures.

The city has re-molded the "conventions" of life. It has made the public dance, the amusement park, the cheap theater. The nervous strain of city life is appalling, and for many these tabloid amusements are the only opportunities for any sort of fun. The city opens a door for young girls and boys to become self-supporting, or nearly so. This has its advantages and its disadvantages. Not infrequently young people attempt to live on less than a living wage. What is the effect of all these conditions on the health of the community? on its morality? on its happiness?[1]

Unemployment. When an industry decides to cut down production by half, or to shut down because of shortage of material, or because of financial stringency, what becomes of the hundreds or thousands who have been drawing their wages from that industry from week to week? If a canning factory is operated for only five months during the year, — the summer months when fruit and vegetables are available, — what becomes of the workers for the remaining seven months each year? When the wheat harvest demands thousands of "extra hands" for a month, what becomes of those thousands the next month? Where do they come from? Where do they go? Does even the possession of a sufficient "stake" to last through the months of enforced

[1] Howe, *The City*, Chapters XII, XIV, XIX, XX; Viellier, *The Housing Problem;* Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapter XI; Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, Chapters XXIX, XXX; Rowe, *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Part IV.

idleness compensate the worker or society for this waste of time? What do you know of the story of the drifting casuals of industry?[1]

In New York City alone, in the winter of 1913–1914, it was estimated that there were 325,000 unemployed. This number of workers, idle for eight weeks, losing wages of $10 per week, lost $26,000,000. And this condition is not entirely a phenomenon of hard times. Consider this statement:[2]

Summarizing the data at our command, we should say that in ordinary years of business prosperity, taking all industries into consideration, out of every 100 persons 60 will be steadily employed, 40 will be working irregularly. Of those who have irregular employment, 3 will always be out of work. The percentages vary with different industries, but the experience is characteristic of every industry.

What bearing has this on the problems of poverty and social unrest?

Is there any intelligent agency at work studying these currents of labor demand, giving information as to where work can be found, the kind of labor in demand, wages paid, and skill necessary? During the World War, the Government made an attempt to establish such an agency; and while this service did not have time to develop to any great extent, it proved, at least in certain sections of the country, a great aid in increasing production and in helping labor to "fit in." After the war, as a result of failure to obtain appropriations from Congress, the whole scheme was abandoned.

[1] Parker, *The Casual Laborer.*
[2] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, page 545.

Another element in the situation is the lack of skill on the part of thousands of men who are thereby made subject to the fluctuating demands for " casual labor." This enforced " drifting " soon becomes a habit, until it is not unusual for an industry employing three hundred men to hire one thousand men in the course of a year to keep up a full working force. This means, of course, a tremendous loss to the industry as well as to the worker. Industry probably needs a reserve of labor; but the worker ought not to be compelled to carry so large a share of the cost of maintaining this reserve.

In a country with the natural resources of America, with the constantly increasing demand for goods of all kinds, unemployment is not inevitable. It is caused by maladjustments, financial, seasonal, between capital and labor, between skilled and unskilled labor. The employment problem is a problem of the industrial adjustment of individuals as well as of the industrial system. It is a national and an international problem. It is tied up with immigration, with the status of women in industry, with questions of hours and wages, with the stabilizing of our financial and commercial structure, and with the prevention of panics, which have caused such wholesale misery in the past. The unemployment problem calls for some system of social information by which the demand for laborers in any community can be made known to other communities where there are unemployed workers, and vice versa. It calls for a system of industry in which every member of the nation can find productive work, and thus be enabled to establish home ties, commu-

nity ties, social ties, a sense of civic responsibility, and personal effectiveness. These are social as well as economic concerns.[1]

The development of economic self-interest. It is evident that all the factors we have been considering so far have one inevitable result: the pyramiding ever higher and higher of the feeling of unrest, of the demand to " lead the procession " and to " get what is coming to a fellow." In large part, this feeling has developed unreasoningly and without reference to social justice. That is to say, the problem of the " live " individual has been to get as much as he could of the social product in any possible way, without regard to what he gave in return. This is a mockery of intelligence and justice.

We must recognize, however, that there is a legitimate debate today as to the relative importance of various factors in industry. That is, labor sometimes claims that wealth is essentially the product of work; without workers, there could be no production; all capital is simply the unexpended surplus created by some one's previous labor. It would follow, from these contentions, that labor should have the chief share of the product of industry. This is not the case at present. For example, it is estimated that labor received only 27 per cent of the value of the product in the steel industry in 1917.

Much of the hard feeling between " capital " and " labor " is the result of disagreement about the divi-

[1] Willits, *Steadying Employment*, pages 5–10; 29–50; 69–81; 92–102; Kellor, *Out of Work*, Chapters I, VI, VIII, XIV; Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men;* pages 14–68; 314–319; Gibbons, *Unemployment Insurance*, Chapter XX; Towne, *Social Problems*, Chapter VIII; Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 536–540; 578–588.

sion of profits.[1] Capitalists claim that, without the great stores of "production goods," large-scale industry and all modern prosperity would be impossible: setting up labor as the only element in production would put us back to the days of the primitive struggle for existence. There is, however, another side to this defense of "capital": could we have capital without capitalists? In the early days of industry, the capitalist and the *entrepreneur*, or manager, were usually the same person. To a large extent, this is not true today. It is claimed by most workers that the manager should be well paid for his enterprise and managing ability; but that the mere capitalist, who is usually thought of as some one who has inherited large wealth, should not be permitted to take a large share of the profits of the industry. This problem is being partially solved by the development of inheritance, corporation, and income taxes.

Two extreme attitudes on this question of capital are found in the old doctrine of *laissez faire* and the views of the socialist. When the doctrine of competition was young, it was felt that all economic processes were governed by "natural law"; and hence, if all individuals were given a free chance to compete with each other in the labor market and in business enterprise, in the end the "fit" would survive; they would manage matters to the advantage of all, and the whole question of production and adjustment would be solved. This doctrine held also that men would not save or work or invent unless they were assured tremendous

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*. pages 516–519; 565–569; 619–622; 847–861.

rewards which could be enjoyed by them and their children and handed down indefinitely to their descendants.

The socialist doctrine, on the other hand, holds that men will work and invent in the interests of the whole community and in order to express their own constructive and creative power. It holds that the so-called "natural laws" of competition end in ruthless destruction of the weaker individuals and nations; in tremendous social waste, and in the warping of the moral natures of those who achieve "success." They, therefore, propose that the state, or the community, or the workers in an industry shall take over the capital necessary for that industry and operate it in the common interest. Is such a complex mechanism possible? Would the administration be honest or corrupt? What are the motives which cause people to work and to save and to invent? [1]

Childlike faiths in the value of competitions are rapidly disappearing before the demonstration of obvious evils (such as the World War), which *laissez faire*, unsupplemented, has developed. On the other hand, most people feel that the socialistic program is unworkable. Is it possible that there is a middle ground? Is it possible that by continued enlightened discussion, the development of collective bargaining, and by the awakening of a finer feeling for the welfare of the community a more satisfactory agreement can be reached as to the just shares of labor, capital, and management in the industrial product? Or will the

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 606–627; Cross, *Essentials of Socialism;* Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems.*

separation of these interests progress until something breaks down in the social structure?

Poverty. The function of industry is economic welfare; that is, industry eventually must pay all the bills of the community; hence, it should normally be interested in eliminating all causes that pile up unnecessary bills. It should be especially interested in preventing poverty, or any other social condition that destroys courage and productivity. How much concern does industry exhibit in this direction? Is there less poverty in the world now than before the great improvements in processes of production were made?

Primitive poverty was usually a poverty of the whole community or tribe. It came of an insufficient production in proportion to population. It was due either to the inhospitality of nature — crop failures and the like — or to the wastes and destructions of war. There are communities in backward localities which still struggle against this community poverty. There are still periods in which whole nations must recover from the impoverishment of war.

But when we speak of poverty as a social problem today, we mean the countless cases of individual need. This immediately raises the question of the measure of poverty. A family of five having an income of $1000 a year, in 1914, might have been fairly comfortable. But the same money income six years later did not mean the same degree of comfort. The National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, announced at Boston, in August, 1919, that the cost of living was then 71 per cent higher for American wage earners than it had been in July, 1914. If those

figures were correct, it would have taken $1710 in 1919 to buy what $1000 would have bought in 1914. The value of any income varies in accordance with the amount of goods it can purchase at the time it is received and expended. Poverty means the inability of the individual to obtain the goods necessary to his subsistence. But what goods are to be considered necessaries and what luxuries? A century ago, education beyond the "Three R's," especially for girls, was considered a luxury. Expenditure for sanitation was once considered unnecessary. In most families, an automobile is a luxury; for a doctor, it may be necessary. For a lawyer, a library is necessary. For a carpenter, tools are necessary. Is it possible to list the articles which are necessaries as opposed to luxuries? Is it possible to define poverty in terms of money?

Poverty is a relative term. But we have evidence in plenty of its existence and its evils in the illness, ineffectiveness, vice and crime, and ignorance which it breeds and which, in turn, produce more poverty.

King[1] estimates that, in 1919, 86 per cent of the people who had incomes of any sort had less than $2000 a year. The remaining 14 per cent had incomes in excess of $2000, and they received 39 per cent of the total income of the nation. The same authority estimates that 5 per cent of the population receive 24 per cent of the income of the country, when farmers are included in the statistics. Excluding the farmers, the highest 5 per cent of the population receive 27 per cent of the total income. It is likely, therefore, that poverty is not so much a question of underproduction as of inequitable distribu-

[1] King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States.*

tion. Just distribution involves: First, the ability of an individual to earn a sufficient share of the social product; and, second, the ability of the individual to get the share which he has earned.

The feeble-minded worker, the lazy worker, the drug addict, and the ignorant, careless worker are poor because they do not produce enough to earn a living wage. We have said in the past of some of these people, "Their poverty is their own fault; they are improvident, lazy, vicious." We have had charity organizations to keep the derelicts from actually starving to death; and, as "case work" has developed on a scientific basis, charity workers have not infrequently been able to put an individual or a family back upon a self-supporting basis. But now we are learning that even the irremediable cases of poverty are social concerns for two reasons: First, it is likely that social environment, social carelessness, vicious influences, vicious heredity, for which such individuals were not responsible, have influenced their childhood and helped to build the character which society condemns. But aside from the question of responsibility for their present condition, it remains true that so long as these people live they will live somewhere; they will influence some community in unhealthful ways; they will affect the heredity and standards of the next generation; they will be a constant economic drain on the whole community and serve often enough as the ignorant tools of political corruption. What can be done for this situation? How much can be accomplished by "case work" with destitute families? How much can be done by providing health insurance, mothers' pensions, accident

insurance? How much can be done by paying higher wages? How much can be done by education? How much by supplying playgrounds for the children in congested districts? How much by Americanization programs? How much by "cleaning up" politics? How much can be done through the church?[1]

It is not always true that the individual gets as much as he earns, for there is no way of definitely deciding how much he has earned. Wage investigations frequently reveal the fact that a pitifully small share of the value of the products of the industry goes to the workers. Here we return again to the questions of collective bargaining, of minimum wage legislation, of profit-sharing schemes. These are closely tied up with the solution of the problems of poverty.

We often say of the habitual charity cases: "They don't care to work or to save." And that may be true. But there is another way of stating the matter.

One of the first signs of the decrease of ambition and hope in a worker is the loss of interest in his earnings. He soon quits saving for two reasons: First, all of his previous attempts at saving failed because hard times or unemployment or illness or some other misfortune ate up his savings; and, second, he begins to look upon his earnings as merely a means to keep body and soul together, not as a means for his success in life.

What is the effect, then, of seasonal labor, even with high wages, upon the chronic poverty of a community? What is the effect of a period of panic and unemploy-

[1] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes;* Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society,* pages 549–558; 560–567; 588–600; 699–708; Hunter, *Poverty;* Warner, *American Charities,* Part I; Towne, *Social Problems,* Chapter XIV; Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology,* Chapters VIII–XIII.

ment? What is the effect of accident or illness? From the social standpoint social insurance would appear one of the most hopeful approaches to the problem of poverty. Social insurance includes sickness insurance, accident insurance, unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, etc. Is it feasible? Is it essential?[1]

An undetermined percentage of the population of the United States is definitely below par mentally and incapable of normal social and industrial participation. We are learning, through careful study, to understand these defective individuals better. Most defectives can perform some productive work, if it does not require degrees of understanding and responsibility of which they are incapable, but the community must help them find such work. This is a matter affecting not only poverty, but vice and crime as well, as we shall see later.[2]

Industry and the home. Most of the processes of production have been gradually taken away from the home. There is a great difference between the home where, for example, the wool was carded, spun, woven, and made into clothes, and the home where clothes come from the factory, bread from the bakery, food from the delicatessen store or cannery, and even the washing, cleaning, etc., are done by machinery operated by a power plant many miles away. The modern woman cannot be, within her home, the economic factor that her grandmother was. This means that she either stays at home and specializes in housekeeping and

[1] Rubinow, *Social Insurance.*

[2] Towne, *Social Problems,* Chapter X; Terman, *Measurement of Intelligence.*

" society," or she goes out of the home into industry. Probably neither is best for the family welfare.

The World War greatly hastened the entrance of women into industrial and professional fields. Is the labor power of women essential to modern industry in peace times? Do women wish to work outside the home? Is it to their advantage mentally or economically to do so? What becomes of the children? Is the married woman an effective worker? Is a job in industry good or bad training for the young girl? Should women have equal pay for equal work? Should the size of the family which individuals of either sex support have some bearing on the determination of their wages? Does the competition of women lower the wages of men and thereby force both husband and wife to work in order to make a living for the family?[1] These are some of the important questions of social welfare raised by modern industrial organization. They demand careful study. We shall see more of them in later chapters.

Child labor. Child labor has been a terrible evil of the Industrial Revolution. Machines can be so nearly automatic that a child can tend them. Little children have worked twelve and fourteen-hour shifts, securing a mere trifle of pay, insufficient to maintain them. Children compete with men and women for jobs. The United States Secretary of Labor suggested at Christmas time, 1921, that the whole country would be better

[1] Towne, *Social Problems*, Chapter V; Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, page 385; Kelley, *Industry, Its Relation to the Family, Health, Education, and Morality;* Van Vorst, *The Woman Who Toils;* also publications of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

off if the one and a half million children then employed were to be sent to school and their places in industry taken by men and women out of work. The social results of this "inexpensive labor" can never be estimated. The conditions under which children have frequently worked have been disgraceful and revolting.[1]

Child labor is still far from being abolished; but, in most States, laws keep children under fourteen or sixteen out of industrial work, at least out of certain types of it. There is still, however, little provision anywhere for the training of children for competent and useful places in industry when they are old enough to work. So little information is available concerning the varieties and needs of our industrial processes that a wise choice of vocation is practically impossible. Under these conditions, choosing a vocation is largely a matter of accident, sometimes fortunate and sometimes unfortunate. The problem of the relation of children to industry is not solved by protecting them from industrial strains in their early years, though this is absolutely essential in any society which pretends to be civilized; it involves also the preparation of all children from their early years for the making of an intelligent choice of a vocation, and social help in acquiring the skill necessary to realize that choice without falling victims to industry. Ours is an industrial society. Education must help to make the world's work clear, both in its general organization and in its particular vocations, so that all persons shall learn to become productive and intelligent workers.

[1] Consult literature of the National Child Labor Committee, 1 East 104th Street, New York City.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Individual and the Community

When we are dismayed by the complexities of the problems we have to meet, and worn out with the numerous demands made upon us by the various groups to which we belong, we sometimes wish that a magic carpet would transport us to some land where we should have no responsibilities or relationships of any kind. This, as a matter of fact, is what the tramp accomplishes. He prefers to run away rather than to face the difficulties of making a place for himself in the common life, with the social adjustments this would compel. But the " normal " person has no lasting desire to emulate the tramp. He therefore takes up the task of adapting himself to conditions, and of making conditions nearer to his desires. How great that task is can be seen when we realize that the child born into this modern world, whether on the boulevard or in the slums, is, in all his native characteristics, like the child born into the primitive group. Yet how different his life! Our world demands of him a thousand varieties of adaptation and response unknown to the ancestors from whom he inherits his nervous system. The child in the modern community, with his primitive nature, equipped for a simple environment, often finds himself in a bewildering world.

Vocational choices. One of the early questions which confront the modern child is the choice of a vocation. This involves two questions: First, what are his own natural abilities and tastes? and second, what is the

nature of the different vocational opportunities that are open to him?

Between their desires and their experiences, it is difficult for most individuals to determine what their dominant characteristics are. Experiments with various activities, talks with other people, reading of various sorts, all help an individual to formulate opinions on this important subject. The school, on its part, is coming to realize that it must help to discover individual aptitudes, and that it must gather information regarding the various vocations, their relative demands, opportunities, wages, training required, and the like. Sometimes, through its various industries, the community provides opportunities for actual experimentation. Certain "odd jobs," or summer jobs, provide opportunity to look the ground over first-hand. The majority of these minor jobs, however, often serve as blind alleys and ruts from which the individual does not take the trouble to escape. A casual job may bury a boy for life. This subject is becoming more and more important, and is attracting more and more attention from both schools and industries. An industry operated by uninterested, ill-trained, inefficient workers, is fatally handicapped. A school that has no vocational outlook leaves its graduates "up in the air."

Two important difficulties sometimes appear after a vocation has been chosen. Old vocations pass away, either partially or altogether, and new ones come in their stead. Or, secondly, new processes may take the place of the old processes, usually with increased machinery and fewer workmen. Both of these changes cause

great misery in any industrial evolution; and they arise continually in the shiftings of industry. What becomes of the individual in such a situation? [1]

The status of vocations. Some individuals solve the problem of vocation by deciding not to work at all. Perhaps they are helped to such a decision by being financially independent. They are able to live on "unearned income." Others, having no such financial independence, but possessing the same desire to live without work, easily acquire some sort of "graft"; that is, some means of securing a share of the wealth of the community without giving any useful service in return. These are the criminals, fawners upon the rich, gamblers, bucket-shop keepers, speculators, confidence men, and all the "get-rich-quick" family. They live a precarious life, sometimes rich, usually poor, always boasting, always scared, not infrequently in prison. The welfare of society probably increases as their numbers diminish.

But, even today, there are certain workers who are "free"; that is, who direct and supervise their own activities, planning their own time and taking their own chances as to income. Such a worker is the artist, who devotes himself to his creative task with little regard to an income, and little or no concern as to his social position in the world. Such workers give us the most complete examples of creative workmanship: that instinctive craving of nerve and muscle and mind to make themselves felt in the shaping of things, and to express their originality in creative ways. All workers have this instinct to a greater or a lesser degree; but

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 562–564.

the limitations of his occupation, its fragmentary character, and the demands of foremen keep the artisan from having the same free chance to express himself that the artist enjoys.

The professional man also enjoys a degree of freedom in his work; but his finances frequently suffer from competition in an overcrowded profession. The doctor, the lawyer, the clergyman, the teacher — all offer services which the community has always valued and which it continues to value in varying degrees. The position of the doctor is secure, but his training is long and severe, and is continually growing more severe. The position of the teacher is permanent but insecure. The position of the clergyman is precarious. The position of the lawyer is extremely uncertain: the community needs him and would like to believe in him, but is not quite sure what his intentions are.

The wage worker finds himself in a peculiarly precarious situation. It was said of him more than two thousand years ago that "the stability of the social order shall rest upon his shoulders, but his voice shall not be heard in the councils of the nations." And that is largely true of him even today. How can this be true in a democracy? Are not the majority of the citizens wage workers? Yes, but as a matter of fact, under the conditions of large-scale industry with its extreme division of labor and its machine processes, it is very easy for a worker to drift into some industrial niche from which, after his habits are established, he finds it extremely difficult to escape. Such work offers little stimulus to his intellectual or moral life, and as a result of it he may develop into nothing but an attach-

ment to a machine. He ceases to have interest in social subjects; hence, he need not wonder that "his voice is not heard in the councils of the nations." He can partly overcome this fate by joining a union and helping his associates to work out definite opinions on social questions and to find the means to make their opinions count.

Modern industry has developed several types of employer-manager. In spite of amazing changes in industry, the old-time autocratic employer still exists in certain lines. But he is less and less successful, for he does not enlist the interest or coöperation of his workers, and frequently a strike puts him on his back. Happily, these autocratic employers become fewer year by year. For the democratic type of employer, there are great opportunities ahead. He must be, in these days of industrial uncertainty, a social inventor, for democratic methods of organizing industry are still undefined. His lot is not an easy one, for new methods are looked upon with suspicion by managers of the older types and these sometimes undertake to discipline members of their "class" who show too liberal tendencies. On the other hand, reforms may be demanded in a hurry by workmen who do not understand the practical difficulties involved; or they may be regarded with suspicion as a means of stifling the individual initiative of the worker. In these conflicting currents, the employer has a difficult time maintaining his democratic good will.

The choice of group affiliations. After a man has chosen a vocation and acquired industrial skill, other questions arise. He may have to choose a community

in which to work. Many things influence this choice — climate, acquaintances, condition of the community's industries, and desirable political and social elements in the community. The worker may have to choose between union affiliations and an anti-union stand. An employer chooses certain business organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, etc. In all such choices, the individual may see definite gains to be secured by joining the group; sometimes, he sees ways of reforming the group; but sometimes, too, he is compelled to join whether he wishes to or not. Whether he will ever become an influential member of the group remains to be determined. Men sometimes make their groups over. But groups are usually stronger than individuals.

Inter-institutional relationships. But while the worker is making his connections with the industrial world, he is also finding other interests. He is joining a church, or deciding not to do so. He is voting on various local and national issues, or staying away from the polls. He is choosing types of recreation — theaters, golf, tennis, hunting, swimming, billiards, dancing, etc. He is approving this magazine, and disapproving that, or ignoring all of them; he is supporting this charity and condemning that; he is purchasing certain goods, and ignoring others. He is establishing a home and deciding upon family interests. It is highly necessary, therefore, to see the degree to which industrial interests permeate all the other relationships of the individual.

A candidate for office may announce his stand on a certain public question. A group of workers will,

thereupon, line up, some for, others against him. The manager of the industry, hearing of their decision, may conclude that some of the men are dependable, the rest questionable. The former will be promoted, the latter watched. The fortunes of the individuals, the welfare of their families and all their futures may be determined by their decisions in a political matter. Religious connections, too, may help an individual or a family to "get ahead," economically. Choosing a church, or a school, or a place of residence, or a wife, for business reasons, is not unknown. Such choosings may turn out well; but it is likely that the results will be other than they would have been had the choices been made on other grounds.

The training of women for industrial or professional work has a definite effect on the relations between men and women; on the social conventions; on the relative shares of husband and wife in deciding family affairs; on the ability of the woman to understand the man's viewpoint and experiences, and vice versa. As an illustration in the matter of conventions, consider the old custom of a man's giving up his seat in a street car to a woman. Is this still considered the proper thing to do? Do women expect it? Do they resent it? Are we working out a new social code in such matters?

The conflict between much "sharp practice" in business and the morality taught by the church leads many individuals either to break with the church entirely or to separate these two institutions completely in their thinking, acting upon one code of morality on Sunday and on an opposite code during the week.

Types of work, that is, whether active or sedentary, whether of long duration or short, whether muscular or nervous, determine the recreation of the individual in large measure. On the other hand, if he does not choose the proper kinds of recreation to balance his physical needs, his health and work suffer.

Industry is probably subject to greater changes in its processes and methods than any of our other institutions. Control by conservative men tends to keep business philosophy traditional, but constant pressures of competition and constant changes in economic conditions make necessary continual modifications in industrial practice. Industrial changes, in turn, make modifications in other institutions necessary. For example, our industrial order seems to demand new types of teaching from the church, if the church is to be effective in establishing and maintaining the moral and religious convictions of the age. It demands new types of education which will prepare young people for intelligent activity in the new industrial situations. It demands new types of home-keepers who will understand how to spend money wisely, how to meet the various needs of the members of their families, how to make the home a real factor in community activities. It follows, therefore, that industry not infrequently finds itself in conflict with one or more of our other social institutions. The individual who finds himself involved in such a conflict faces many real problems, if he is to adjust his institutional relationships so that he may keep a place for himself in all these interests and not become a narrow partisan of a single institution, such as business.

We have, today, an interesting example of the influence of economic motives upon our whole living. We may call it the " money fetish." It is frequently taken for granted that that community is best, that church is best, that school is best, that club is best, which has the greatest amount of money " behind it." Many assume that that family is best and happiest which has the largest income at its disposal. Many assume even that to establish a marriage relation, or a church relation, or a political relation, which promises to lead to wealth is a desirable and permissible thing. How much influence did the World War have on this way of measuring values?

The relations between the group and the individual. We saw in Chapter Three certain ways in which the group controlled the individual. The chief means of this control was the emotional subordination of the individual to other individuals, or to some form of ceremony, or to some common aim. Obviously, the willingness of an individual to be subordinated may be a very fine quality, or it may be very degrading. Which it shall be depends upon the nature of the subordination.

Take, for example, the old-time theory of shop management, according to which every worker must be " under " his foreman or " boss." When a worker applied for work, he was told to " wait around a bit, perhaps there will be something "; or else he was dismissed with scant courtesy. When employed, he worked under the eye of the foreman, fearful lest some personal grudge should lead to his dismissal. Compare this situation with the " democratic shop," where the worker is hired after careful consideration of his appli-

cation by a competent personnel manager. When he becomes a member of such an organization, he secures, not only a job, but the right to assemble with his fellows for various purposes, including voting for his representatives in the shop management, and taking part in common recreational activities. He has the right and is provided with the means to make suggestions for improvement in all the conditions that concern him.

In the same way, the organization of workers in unions provides opportunity for individuals to count as persons. Trades councils are close enough to the workers so that the issues they debate can be understood, since they are matters of common knowledge and common welfare. There are indeed bitter differences of opinion as to the direction in which that common welfare lies, but these are, as a rule, fought out and settled within the group, and do not result in breaking it to pieces. There are paid officials and "organizers," but these rarely find it possible to dictate to their constituents for any length of time. The same is true of groups of employers or of managers.

It is evident, then, that the coöperating group, the democratic group, is working out new types of control. What holds such a group together? What takes the place of the old forced subordination? Why do not the dissenters leave the group? What is the effect of mutual economic interest? of mutual understanding of the issues involved? of pressure from outside the group? of the feeling that there is sufficient elasticity in group policies so that reform may ultimately be accomplished by remaining within the group? of training, through many debates, in mutual tolerance and

sympathy? of common ideals regarding types of social organization?

There are vital questions for every individual in submitting to group controls and in modifying these controls. They help to determine whether the individual shall be a cork bobbing on the waves, or a real person engaged in helping to work out the conditions which will determine the direction of social currents. When a carpenter was the only man of his craft in his community, he was a person of standing. But, when, as now in a great city, he is one of many thousands, how can he make himself felt in the community? How can he feel himself a real person? And if he be a worker in a machine industry, with a number instead of a name, how shall he be anything but a cog in the industrial wheels? Workers have to be human beings, not mere numbers in a time book, if we are to have a free, democratic society.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Have you ever worked out what your chosen vocation will demand in knowledge, training, group contacts, social usefulness? How long will it take you to prepare for this vocation?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, page 14, chart on "Ways of Getting a Living"

2. "Ours is a technological society in which only a trained man can survive." "It was never so easy as now for a simpleton to live." Are these contradictory statements? Does society need both trained men and simpletons?

JUDD AND MARSHALL: "The Worker and the Wage System," in *Community Studies*, U. S. Bureau of Education

3. Work out a statement of the problems and opportunities confronting the democratic industrial manager in a large industry.

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 870–884

4. What occupations are passing out in your community? What new occupations are coming in? Which seem untouched by changing industrial conditions? What attitudes are workers taking toward the very drastic changes in industry?
5. Is industry our most progressive institution? In what sense? In mechanical inventions? In dealing with human relationships? Indicate as many directions as possible in which economic motives influence other phases of community life and interests. What is involved in "freedom"? What is the effect of competitive motives?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 897, 903, 907–931; 945–961

6. What functions are the labor organizations of the country performing: industrial, educational, social? How do they accomplish their ends? Can you distinguish between the "open shop," the "closed shop," and the "preferential shop"?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter VII
BLOOMFIELD: *Problems of Labor*, pages 185–262
MAROT: *History of Trade Unionism*

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Types of Adaptation

In making adjustments to a social environment, there are multitudes of possibilities. The individual may be a passive victim of circumstances, molded and controlled wholly by a group, almost as if he were in jail. He may fall to the level of some lower group, and become " down and out." He may become a parasite — a loafer — living on money he does not earn. He may win the notice of some rich " patron," and so escape from starvation and from work. He may drift into some niche, and live by some private graft. The modern community offers many little nooks into which the careless may drift to lead negative lives.

On the other hand, the individual may attempt some more active type of adaptation. He may try to adjust himself to some positive group; he may join a church or undertake some educational program. He may link himself with congenial comrades for mutual aid in the achievement of some social goal. That is, he may establish a set of positive habits that will sustain him.

A higher type. We are all experienced, more or less, in the types of adaptation mentioned above; we know their delights and their difficulties. For some, perhaps for many, such ways of living are the only ways they know — possibly the only ways they are capable of knowing. But there is another type of adaptation which we have only incidentally noticed and which we must now discuss in detail. This is intelligent adaptation. By this we mean the deliberate efforts of an individual or a group to discover the physical and social

factors of the environment; to determine whether those factors help or hinder the desired adjustments; and to bring about such reorganizations of those factors as will contribute in the highest degree to the working out of some deliberately chosen purpose. We may well ask whether any such procedure is at all possible; whether individuals, social groups, or society in general, can adopt their own programs, select desirable modes of living, and bring them into existence by intelligent planning. What is thinking? And what can thinking accomplish? Can thoughtfulness be considered a process of adjustment?

What do we do when we think? The word "thought" has a variety of meanings.[1] The word as commonly used has four variations in meanings. First, it indicates the casual contents of the mind; as when we say to a friend absorbed in revery, "A penny for your *thoughts*." Such thoughts might be dear at the price. Second, it is synonymous with imagination; as when, after we have listened to some very improbable tale, we ask, "Did such things really happen?" and the story-teller says, "No, I just *thought* them up." Third, it may mean a belief, as when an historian says, "Men once *thought* the earth was flat." Finally, the word "thought" may be used to denote deliberate, careful investigation, upon the result of which dependence may be placed. We shall be concerned in this chapter with this last meaning of thinking. What can such thinking accomplish?[2]

[1] These suggestions about thought are adapted from Dewey, *How We Think*, Chapter I.

[2] See also, Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, for further discussion of this subject.

When do we think? We must now ask another question: When do we think? It is quite obvious that this fourth use of "thought" is a rather rare experience. Most people, including students, have endless experiences of the first three uses mentioned above. But the kind of thinking which carries on long, deliberate, careful investigation and reaches conclusions upon which dependence may be placed is rare in the experience of any individual and very largely lacking in the experience of most people. Scientists are supposed to have reached the highest development of thinking; but Professor William James, the psychologist, suggested that even the scientist devotes less than five per cent of his time to this sort of thinking. The other ninety-five per cent of his time is filled with other forms of activity or with none at all. The fact seems to be that people do not engage in this sort of thinking freely and of choice. It is even said that people think only when they are absolutely unable to escape from the necessity; and one writer says that people would rather die than think. Yet thinking is a distinguishing characteristic of human beings, and the most important activity in the life of men.

The constructive value of thinking appears in the fact that men think only in the presence of problems; that is, only at times when habits and customs have broken down and society must either be reorganized or else go to pieces. That is, people think when, as in periods of crisis, habits and customs fail. A curious result of this close connection between crisis and thinking appears in the common belief that thinking produces crises and that thinkers are responsible for periods of

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 26. Indian women baking bread in outdoor oven, Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico. Nature has been but slightly made over to provide room for these bakers.

unrest. It were just as true to say that the physician called to care for a sick man really caused the illness. Social crises are, in some respects, like diseases, except that they may actually end in progress, and the thinker is like the physician. Sometimes the physician must give way to the surgeon in order to heal his patient, as it may be necessary to cut deep into the body; but if the surgeon knows what he is doing, he does not do this to

cause pain, but to cure pain. The community needs thinkers who will take the same attitude toward community ills that the physician takes toward bodily diseases. The community holds many "quack" thinkers as well as many "quack" doctors. But there are some honest doctors in the world. Some day we shall have statesmen, lawyers, and teachers who will be as trustworthy in caring for the social and civic health as our best doctors now are in caring for our bodily health.

Thinking involves definite stages. We need not be surprised to find that such an important activity as thinking involves a number of stages of development. We shall consider some of these stages. In the first place, thinking arises, if at all, from some uneasiness, difficulty, or problem. Any novel element in our environment must be dealt with, somehow; and if, as in times of crisis, these elements are many, the task of dealing with them and of working out some adequate new mode of conduct with reference to them, may be extremely fatiguing. Thinking, in this sense, involves the greatest possible expenditure of nervous energy.

The first task in thinking is the careful working out of the various elements of the problem. We have a constitutional dislike for this. We are inclined to put off such efforts. We say, "Oh, it is nothing," or "Forget it!" But sometimes such an attitude of mind becomes impossible. Let us take as an illustration — the breakdown of an automobile ten miles from a garage. Then, we shall see how impossible it is either to ignore or to forget our problem.

Locating the problem. Something has gone wrong with the automobile. The trouble calls for careful, critical investigation. The break must be located. If there is no one present who knows anything about automobiles, other than how to start and stop them, the investigation is not likely to proceed very far. The ignorant driver may get out and walk around the machine two or three times, and say to it, " Why in the name of sense did you have to break down away out here in the country? " So far, there is no record that any machine ever answered that question.

But a driver who knows automobiles will go over the machine carefully, trying to locate the trouble. This may take considerable time, for the problem may be due to some derangement of the delicate mechanism of the carburetor. But eventually he finds the difficulty — the screw which holds the needle in place in the needle-valve is broken, and the needle, by shifting back and forth, permits such an ill-regulated flow of gas as now to choke and now to starve the engine. But now that the driver has the trouble located, what shall he do about it?

Various aids to thinking. If he has had experience with cars and has met this problem before, he may *remember* how to solve it. He will recall materials used, and the method of making a temporary adjustment, sufficient to get him to the garage. He will seek through tool boxes and various equipment for the materials which he needs. And, shortly, he will be on his way again. Memory came to his aid with suggestions which enabled him to solve his problem.

But if he has had no former experience with such a

problem, he may be hard put to it to find a way out. He will adjust the needle while the car is standing still, and then start off, with the pious hope that it will be a "good needle" and stay in place. But he soon finds out that this use of the term "good" as applied to a piece of metal does not hold. He may be able to go a few rods, but the difficulty recurs.

Another look shows him that a screw will not hold. He searches through every bit of equipment and every pocket in the hope of finding a screw that will serve the purpose. But it was a vain hope from the first, for this is a peculiarly shaped screw, not usually carried about. This plan fails. He must take the time to get all aspects of the difficulty so clearly in mind that he can see some temporary way out. Of course, if the party were not so far from town, all might walk in and a service car could be sent out for the machine. Most people would probably prefer to walk ten miles rather than to undertake to think out a problem. But it happens, let us say, that there are some little children in the party. The driver must either solve the problem or carry a three-year-old child ten miles. He will make one more effort.

Experimental processes. Presently he finds, by a little experimenting, that the needle may be permitted to turn through a small arc of a circle without seriously disturbing the engine. The problem, therefore, is one of securing the needle within limits. He notices that, at the outer end, the needle has a right-angled bend, and he sees that when the needle is properly adjusted this bent part stands approximately horizontal. He sees that as soon as the car starts, vibration and the shocks of the

road tend to make this horizontal part turn down, thus spoiling the adjustment. If the bent part can be held to the horizontal, all will be well. How can this be done? Suddenly it occurs to him that a short piece of string will hold it. He has heard of "flivvers" held together with string, and has always laughed at the idea, but he thinks it worth trying. He finds a piece that will serve the purpose, ties the bent part of the needle in such a way as to hold it fairly horizontal, and starts off. To his delight, he has no further difficulty. The mechanism works perfectly; he goes on his way to town — running his automobile on a piece of string. He has definitely *thought* his way out of the difficulty.

If, however, this plan had not worked, he would have been compelled to think out another solution. Aside from the criticisms of the members of his party because of the long delay, he probably would not have minded this, for when a person once gets into the deliberative mood, he finds it not so bad as is generally supposed. He might even come to like it, and decide to carry on other researches. He might become interested in every item of the intricate machinery. He might awaken to the fact that any particular part of it might go wrong at any time and leave him stranded in some remote place again. That is to say, each part might become a problem. So he might stop assuming that an automobile is a piece of machinery which just either runs or does not run; he might see it as a very elaborate mechanism, or a series of mechanisms, which run when properly adjusted, but which are likely under the shocks and stresses of the road to lose their adjustments at any time. He might see that some acquaintance

with the machinery would be of service at any time. He might become a student of the automobile, and come to know it expertly. To this extent he might even become a scientist; at least in automobile engineering.

Of course, such developments take time and the expenditure of energy. And automobiles do run for months at a time without repairs. What is the value, then, of spending time and energy in learning to mend an automobile?

Social repairing. The question may be transferred to our social problems. In a sense, our social institutions and organizations are social mechanisms. They are not so definite as automobiles, and one cannot become expert in understanding them and directing them, in so short a time, if indeed ever. But we are coming, little by little, toward a more complete understanding of our social mechanisms, just as in the last twenty-five years men have come to a more complete understanding of the way in which gasoline can be made to serve as power in a gas engine. The gas engines of twenty-five years ago were ineffective, noisy, ill-smelling contraptions. Study and experiment have produced the wonderfully powerful, easy running, noiseless engine of today. Intelligence applied to our social mechanisms may some day have similar results.

Social invention. There is another phase of this problem. Not only do gas engines and automobiles need to be repaired: they had to be invented in the first place. Not many decades ago, such things did not exist at all. But the need of developing great energy in a limited space was keenly felt. Steam engines are powerful enough, but they are too large for certain

Frank H. Nowell

FIG. 27. A transcontinental freight train coming down out of the Cascade Mountains on its way to the Pacific. Nature has been conquered.

purposes. A smaller engine was needed, especially for the propulsion of passenger vehicles. This was not, let it be noted, a problem of mending something, but of inventing a new machine.

Similarly, after the American Revolution, the framers of the Constitution had a problem of invention. They wanted a government which should provide security for all individuals and stability for the group life without the mechanisms of old monarchies. This did not mean mending an old form of government; it meant inventing a new form. Democracy still needs this inventive intelligence in all areas.

During the World War, physical scientists invented new machines of destruction. We need inventiveness along social and civic lines in peace time quite as much as we needed engineering inventiveness in war time.

We must have new forms of social order. Most inventions are not complete at the beginning. The first automobile was a very imperfect affair. Innumerable improvements have been made by which that first clumsy machine has become the better machine of the present. We must be willing to think of our democracy in much the same way. We honor the men who invented the automobile; but we do not honor them so much that we refuse to produce the more efficient machine of today, or the still better machine of tomorrow. We honor the founders of our government; but it is at too great expense to our social welfare if we honor them so much that we refuse to invent the new forms that will bring up to date what they began.

What can thinking do? Yet thinking cannot do everything. Merely dreaming that certain results are desirable does not bring them to pass. Holding ideals is necessary to our human development. But we may hold our ideals in such ways as to make ourselves weaker; we may merely dream about them. We need to take account of actual conditions; we need to consider all the elements in our social problems, whether we like them or not. We must recognize the existence of traditions and prejudices. We know there are such things as "stubborn facts." Thinking can put before us the elements of our problems. It can recall old materials and suggestions that may be useful in dealing with problems. It can work out imaginative solutions or hypotheses, which can be put to the test of actual conditions, to determine whether or not such tentative solutions are satisfactory. It can proceed to find other more adequate solutions. We have seen how thinking

deals with a problem in the instance given, a broken-down automobile. We must likewise see it in connection with our social problems. Thinking cannot change the world into some desired Utopia merely by wishing it. But the world will never be properly organized without the application of the most vigorous thinking that our democratic intelligence can develop. We dare not place all our dependence upon thinking, ignoring social facts. But we shall never have real democracy until the thinker is recognized and permitted to do continuously constructive work in our community life. The most important type of adaptation in our democratic community life is intelligent adaptation, the application of honest, thoroughgoing thinking to the solution of our local, national, and world problems. Of course, there is danger that the thinker may claim too much; as if a surgeon should claim that because he knew how to operate for appendicitis, he should be permitted to operate on every one and for everything: some surgeons, perhaps, have acted as if they had that right. Some people who have called themselves thinkers have acted in the same way. But the first is not good surgery, and the other is not real thinking. The world accepts a surgeon who has proved trustworthy; but it accepts him as a reliable worker in the field of his own specialty, not in all fields. The honest surgeon accepts himself in exactly the same way. He refuses to deceive himself. When thinkers shall have proved themselves as trustworthy, the world will want them, too. And then we shall have some real chance of curing our social ills and diseases.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What do current periodicals and newspapers do for development of thoughtfulness? for developing lack of thoughtfulness? Do any magazines stimulate thinking? What types of magazines destroy thinking? What magazines and papers do you read? Why do you read just those? Have you ever examined others to determine whether you might care for them?
2. Is the automobile repair man ever responsible for automobile breakdowns? Is the statesman ever responsible for governmental breakdowns? Did statesmen have anything to do with causing the World War? Could they have stopped it?
3. Select some social mechanism in your community in which a "breakdown" has occurred, and use in detail the analogy of the broken-down automobile as set forth in this chapter. For example, industry itself doesn't seem to work very well, today. What's wrong?
4. In what ways does the mender of automobiles use his memory? his imagination? How are these faculties used in the mending of social mechanisms? What value will the knowledge learned in school have in mending the social machinery? in inventing new machinery? What new mechanisms have been invented in your community in recent years?
5. Select some social experiment, such as the formation of groups, the planning of new industries, changes in government, etc., being made today in your community and show the part contributed by the past (habit) and by social inventiveness; i.e., thoughtfulness. What are the social inventions most called for at the present time? What problems must they solve — civic, social, economic, educational?

DEWEY: *How We Think*
MCMURRY: *How to Study*
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter XLVI

6. What would be the effect upon the life of your community of the application of thinking to all its difficulties? Make a list of the conditions that seem to you to need remedying. Why cannot they be remedied? What would a thoughtful program with respect to one of them include?

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Function of the Social Sciences

When a workingman holds a job which remains the same in methods and aims from year to year, he can learn all its processes and organize his movements into habits which will take care of every detail of the work. He does not need to know anything further or to think about anything else. His habits are sufficient to make his job go. In the same way, the member of a primitive group in which the customs and conditions changed very slightly, if at all, was able to organize all necessary activities into the form of habits. He did not need to read books, or to think about problems. He had no books and no problems of his own. The habits and customs of the group provided for every known type of experience.

The rigidity of habit. Habit is very unlike thinking. Thinking is fluid. It analyzes, guesses, tests, accepts, rejects. Habit is rigid, set in a fixed channel or mold. It may be developed by thinking or by instinctive, unthinking responses; but once set up, if no changed condition interrupts it, it remains constant. For example, most people habitually eat three meals a day. When the clock says twelve, we usually begin to put aside our work in order to go to lunch. We can go on musing about something else, chatting with friends, etc. It is not necessary to give the matter any particular attention: we just let the mechanisms of habit run us. Habit is an indispensable function of the nervous system. It enables us to meet constantly recurring activities with responses which are almost unconscious; and it

thereby multiplies tremendously the number of things we can get done in a day. On the other hand, habit may so capture us that we go on doing things long after the need for doing them has passed away. We have heard of the carriage driver who turned chauffeur and put a whip-socket on his automobile so he could still carry his whip.

Change interrupts and tends to disintegrate habits. Therefore, if we wish to live entirely by habit, we must eliminate all possibility of change in our environments; we must find one answer to every problem and hold fast to that answer, whether it continues to fit conditions or not. Autocratic and monarchic types of society attempt to settle all questions once and for all, to have final answers for all problems, and to make conduct a matter of habit. Under such conditions, all work must be done as it has always been done; social relationships are unchangeable; and all individuals born into them must accept things as they find them; morality is obedience to unchanging custom and tradition; science is the learning of accumulated facts from books. Such a social order needs no thinking. Hence, one of the functions of authority in such an order is to suppress individuals who insist on trying to think. For example, in the old Russia, thinking or inquiring about political and social questions was a crime punishable by exile to Siberia. The land was systematically cleared of men and women of constructive intelligence through years of tyranny under the czars. Some of the results of this policy have been in evidence in the last ten years.

Democracy and the thinker. Democracy, on the other hand, is not a system set up once for all, with its

elements and methods determined and fixed. Hence, democracy needs knowledge. And since the control of social conditions devolves upon the people, every member of a democracy must have knowledge. But democracy needs thinking, too. Only by thinking can we reach a comprehension of the problems that face the world today, and especially the problems of our own democracy. The larger nations include so many millions of people and are spread over such vast areas that no one can know them by merely looking about, or even by travel. A nation is more than a lot of people today. It is a maze of institutions and social connections which can be comprehended by thought alone.

Moreover, much of the so-called " knowledge " of the autocratic ages was fallacious. The democratic ages must criticize all old knowledge and search continually for new knowledge which will help us to understand, analyze, and solve the problems that still confront us. Democracy needs science, and especially the social sciences. That is to say, democracy needs new knowledge, organized knowledge, and the spirit of continuous investigation.

What is science? Science, including the social sciences, presents two aspects. From one point of view, science is defined as the constantly accumulating mass of information about any important subject. In this sense, we speak of the growth of chemistry or physics or economics, and we call each of these subjects a science. More and more facts about each of them are being continuously uncovered, elaborated, written into books. For example, if an automobile driver should become interested in learning all about his machine, and should

attain a complete understanding of it, he would become a scientist. If he should write a book giving his knowledge in systematic detail, he could rightly call it *The Science of the Automobile.* But later some other authority might write an equally extensive treatise on the carburetor alone. So in every science accumulating masses of facts are developing continuously in the actual experiences of workers and students.

But from another standpoint science is defined as the active spirit of inquiry. From this standpoint, the scientist is not so much interested in some new fact as in criticizing the old and in reconstructing our points of view. For this type of scientist, discovery of new facts is incidental. This scientist assumes that he will always find new facts. But he is eager to have all men desire new facts and find better ways of living; and he wants all men to share this pioneering of the intellect. Perhaps we should say that every true science occupies both these points of view. Every true science is a spirit of inquiry investigating the nature of the still unknown parts of the world, whether physical or spiritual, and revealing new ranges of knowledge. And it is also the accumulating results of all such investigations through the past, in the present, and on into the future.

Progress, we must see, will depend upon the coöperation of all thinkers and investigators (and these should gradually include more and more of the people). But it depends especially upon our social scientists, who are extending our knowledge of society in many positive directions; and upon the widest possible dissemination of the results of science among all the people of the community. We must see, therefore, something of the

character of science in general as it has developed and as it has become differentiated into the social sciences. We shall briefly examine several of the social sciences.

History as social science. The first of these is history. There are many books in this field; but few of them give us a clear view of the meanings of history. History is just the story of how our human society has come to be what it is. Wherever our study of history may begin, whether with the creation of the universe, with the creation of life upon the earth, with the appearance of humanity, or with the dawn of recorded human activities, history must eventually come out into life as it is today. Not that this is the end of history: for the human race is just in the midst of history and is making interesting history at a prodigious rate these days. To some extent, history is for the race what memory is for the individual. Not everything in memory is important, nor is everything in history; but he who has no memory is lost in his own present experience; and he who has no knowledge of history is lost in the world's experience. We need to know history if we are to understand the world in which we live today, and we cannot live intelligently unless we have this understanding. History, then, is an introduction to the world as it is today. Hence, it is an introduction to each of the other social sciences, for each one of them has its roots deep in the soils of history.[1]

Civics as social science. A difficult problem which arises again and again is that of securing social order without destroying the liberty and opportunity of

[1] *The Story of Mankind*, by Van Loon, is a good example of what written history might be.

individuals to live their own lives in their own ways. The fundamental difficulty of our civic and political life is just this: How can we have social order and still have individual freedom and opportunity? This problem ought to be the subject of civic study. But that study has usually concerned itself with our State and National Constitutions, because it has been assumed, rather naturally, that our political constitutions have solved our civic conflicts. But teaching it in this way has made civics an uninteresting, dull subject. More recently the subject has been broadened to include not merely the structure of government as set down in constitutions, but also the actual processes of government as these appear in individual ambitions, party conflicts, and the struggles of fragmentary interests for the control of the government. This new view has brought the study of politics very much closer to our common living, and we have been able to see more clearly how important government is, and how important is the question as to who shall control it. There can be little hope for good government until we learn that civics and politics are real subjects, and that every one must become intelligent about the actual processes of government as it goes on from day to day in our communities.

Economics as a social science. Another extremely important and difficult series of problems, which we come upon in the study of history, is connected with the production of wealth, the organization of industry, and the various ways in which the wealth of the world has been, and is, divided. These are the problems of economics. Industrial organization and the produc-

tion of wealth have undergone many transformations in the course of human development. We know some of the superficial divisions of the field. We speak of the period of slavery, of the feudal period of servile labor, of the period of guilds and free workmen, and of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the wage system. We know that every element of the problem is extremely important for the understanding of industrial unrest today. Multitudes of people, however, in every level of society are continually discussing these problems without having any real basis of understanding of the many subtle historical and psychological factors involved. Economic organization, including the problems of the distribution of wealth, is the central factor in our social unrest of today. Our industrial world needs more than anything else a vital knowledge of economic processes and laws. There are countless numbers who argue about all these questions without knowledge of them. Should we not have a few who know?

Ethics as a social science. Traditionally, as we have seen, the customs of a primitive group determined the aims of the group and of its members. But an intelligent group ought to consider as carefully as possible what it is trying to do. Democracy dare not depend upon old customs to decide its future. Any one who trusts old customs solely soon falls a victim to them. We all need, today, to consider very carefully just what personal and social ideals seem most worth working toward. When this part of our social problem is organized for special study, we call the study ethics. Ethics, however, includes not merely a study of the

aims and welfare of the community; but also a study of the motives which control individuals, and the means of influencing them to devote themselves to constructive aims and to social welfare. At this point, we touch upon the field of psychology, especially that part of psychology which has to do with the will. We raise such questions as these: Can men be induced or taught to love the good? Can they be induced or taught to will the good and work for it to the end?

Sociology as a social science. But society is not made up of economic activities plus governmental activities plus moral endeavors. Society may be broken up into these parts for the purpose of study, but the sum of these parts does not give us the whole. For society is not a collection of fragments. It is a complex, struggling, developing life with many parts, many interests, old and new, and many problems; and it spends its attention and its energies in many directions. Society not only builds the great institutions of industry, government, and morality; it establishes millions of homes; it has racial hatreds, prejudices, ideals; it has its pleasures, its struggles, its folkways, its cultures, its clashings of various instincts and needs; it has many ways of wasting its resources; and it has many conceptions of its future destiny. Society is a maze of more or less divergent elements. The effort to comprehend the rich diversity of this life; to study the institutional structures that have been evolved; to work out the lines of development and the laws of progress; and to forecast the possibilities of future developments: these interests lie in the field of sociology. We may think of sociology, or of any other of

these social sciences, as a catalogue of social facts; we may become interested in a description of social institutions and modes of behavior and see in sociology a sort of moving picture of community life and activity; or we may think of it as offering us a basis in social knowledge which will enable us to become effective, interested social builders. Sociology is concerned with all these: with the enumeration of social facts, the description of social processes, the analysis of social institutions, and the organization of social welfare. In this sense, sociology is perhaps the most inclusive of the social sciences.[1]

Education as a social science. One other type of study should be included here, though it is not usually included in any such list as this. This is the study of education as a means of social progress. We are trying to understand the story of the development of human society to its present levels. We wish civics and politics, as studies, to be really effective in the development of citizens; we expect economics to help us to understand more fully the intricate processes of the production of wealth and its distribution; we are anxious to work out worthy social aims and purposes and to develop worthy personal and group motivations for the generation of today. How important it must seem to us, therefore, that every person who is to have any part in the training of the rising generation should attain some mastery of these indispensable sciences! Education as a science is partly concerned with the adequate preparation of teachers, who will attempt to

[1] Students who are especially interested in the study of sociology are referred to a further brief discussion of the subject in Appendix II.

make our democratic programs real in the lives of growing boys and girls. Unless the efforts of each generation toward a better civilization are to fail with that generation, these social programs must be taken into the schools and made the possession of the next generation. Pedagogy was once merely a training of teachers in the methods of school teaching. Educational science is concerned today with making sure that all teachers, whether in schools or outside, have the broadest possible understanding of the problems of our democratic civilization; and that in addition to this, they have the skill and technical preparation to make children understand the meanings of Democracy. If this can be secured, whatever is developed in the growing social sciences will become a part of the mind of the next generation; and some of the waste that is due to ignorance will be eliminated.

History tells us how civilization has come to be what it is today. Politics and civics, economics, sociology, and ethics help us to understand what this civilization is on its social side; how it needs correcting; and what it is trying to achieve beyond the present. Education helps us to find out how we can transmit this hope of a better civilization to the rising generations, and to make sure that whatever progress is achieved today will be preserved and enlarged through the future generations.

Democracy needs men and women who can see beyond the bounds of their own vocations, churches, schools, and parties, into the possibilities of the whole community. Such clear vision does not just happen to exist: it must be worked for and achieved. The main helps to that achievement will be found in the social

sciences — the organized study of the aims, purposes, obstacles, and methods of our modern complex social living, looked at from many important points of view. The lawyer, the teacher, the social worker, the minister, the statesman, and the business man all need the understanding which such studies can give. The doctor and the engineer are finding their work greatly enriched by contacts with these social studies. All citizens who are going to live intelligent lives and make any impression upon their generation, or carry wisely their own private responsibilities must also share in these social outlooks.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Review by paragraph headings the preceding fifteen chapters, estimating roughly the number of pages given to the study of: (*a*) social structures; (*b*) social processes (instincts, needs, adjustments, etc.); and (*c*) modern social problems. Do these three factors now stand out more clearly in your thinking than when you began this study?

(It is evident, of course, that a line cannot be sharply drawn between these three factors, and that the number of pages in themselves is of no significance. However, such a review of the material covered thus far will be of great value in making clear the various sides of the study of sociology, and will prove fruitful.)

2. Who are some of the history-makers of today in industry, statesmanship, social reform, education, etc.? Make up a list of from five to ten names in each of these lines, and get some real knowledge about the men and women who are positive factors in world-making today. Are they intelligent? Do they believe in science? in the social sciences?

3. What are some of the special interests now engaged in struggling for the control of the government?
4. What influences are antagonistic to the development of the social sciences, and to their more complete application in common life and institutional organization? Are there any objections in your community to the study of economics? of politics? of sociology? Why?

BEARD: *Contemporary American History*
SMITH: *Spirit of the American Government*
SIMON: *Social Forces in American History*
WILSON: *The New Freedom*
ROOSEVELT: *The New Nationalism*
ROBINSON: *The Humanizing of Knowledge*

5. Who are the leaders in America in the field of sociology? What universities are particularly developing work in this field? Who are some of the leading teachers of sociology in America today?

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Social Forces

In the preceding fifteen chapters we have, of course, merely scratched the surface of modern social developments, with their wealth of problems, achievements, dramatic aspects. Even so, the student may well feel a certain bewilderment. The past seems incomprehensible. The problems about us seem overwhelming. This is, in a measure, true. The problems are not solved; the phenomena of the past are not understood; the future is not sure. It is not the purpose of this book to dictate opinions or attitudes to the student, nor to urge "pet solutions" of social problems. But some central principle is necessary if we want to understand and interpret social development; and this compels a brief consideration of the social forces working in our social order.

Factors in social life. We have caught glimpses of three fundamental factors in any social situation or problem. These are (1) the motive power of individuals and of society — the energies by means of which human life provides for its needs; (2) the inertia of human life — the stagnant habits, the fear of anything new, the resistance offered by established customs and institutional rights; (3) thoughtfulness and science, which come in to analyze the quarrels that arise between innovating impulses and fixed customs, and to work out new patterns which will provide for wiser adjustments and for a more complete realization of whatever may be in humanity.

But just as intellect and science did not appear first in human living, so they are not the last factors to be considered. Science, as organized systems of knowledge, is neither the beginning nor the end of life. It is intermediate. It lies between our needs and our problems on the one hand and a world of more effective action on the other. It performs a vital service when our experience is a chaos: it tries to reorganize experience — to give it order and meaning. Human need is the first word; human happiness seems to be the last. Human need makes us struggle; the fulfillment of our needs gives us at least a temporary happiness and peace.

Human needs. The motive force in society, the force which has created civilization as we know it today — and which has also created the problems still ahead — is human need. This expresses itself in the form of human activity struggling to find satisfactions for appetites, desires, wishes, all the discontent of life. Every normal individual, in the course of his life, insists upon having things and doing things. If his demands are thwarted, the whole character of the individual is changed. He may become simply deadened, inert, useless; or he may become perverted — sneaking, vicious, or criminal — a menace to society. The great problem which democracy has set itself is that of creating a social order in which the fundamental needs of all of us for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" shall be secured for every individual, and no individual in satisfying his own needs shall deprive others of their opportunity to do likewise.

Human need cannot be arbitrarily defined. Human beings want not one thing but literally hundreds of

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FIG. 28. Mountain climbers on the Kleinglockner in the Austrian Tyrol. Men want adventure more than they want safety; at least, some men do.

things; they want not merely warmth and shelter, but beauty — and beauty in many forms. They want not merely companionship, but a respected place among their companions. They want activities which shall amuse, thrill, inspire. They want opportunities for showing what they can do; they want a chance to excel in some way; they want opportunities to sacrifice their own desires for the sake of an individual or an ideal dear to them. They want the care of children, the comfort of friends, the sense of power, the opportunity to fight in a good cause, the chance to learn new facts and theories and so to understand more clearly the world about them. Love holds some, fear others; even base superstitions still hold some. As we have seen, no two individuals

have exactly the same endowment of needs. No two individuals have had exactly the same opportunities to develop all sides of their characters, and no two individuals have exactly the same level of experience. To one person, power is more satisfying than beauty, friends, or children. To another, the desire to understand the world better is a dominating motive. To still another, the home and the care of children is the main interest. But because an individual is largely controlled by a few motives, it does not follow that other motives are inoperative or are not waiting their chance to free themselves from suppression. In other circumstances, other motives might have been the determining factors in that individual's actions. And the fact that people vary in these ways is no reason for setting up invidious distinctions amongst them.

Instincts. Every individual is characterized by traits of behavior which distinguish him from other people. We say of the conduct of any particular person, "That's his nature." And we are frankly puzzled by people who seem at first to have no such distinctive characteristics. We say that "we can't make them out." These native tendencies are varyingly manifested. Sometimes they express themselves in activities, in which case they have been called instincts. Sometimes they appear as overwhelming feelings, and we call them emotions.

These characteristics belong to the inherited endowment of the individual. Inheritance is a mysterious matter. Each of us has two parents, four grandparents, eight great grandparents, and so on. We seem to inherit characteristics from our many ancestors. The

old saying, " He takes after his grandfather," may be quite literally true.

Individuals do not learn to be instinctive or emotional. They are instinctive and emotional by nature, or not at all. The experiences and education of childhood and youth tend, however, to cultivate and develop our native characteristics or to suppress them. We spend our childhood and youth finding out, not only what the world is like, but what sorts of individuals we ourselves are. Some find tendencies within themselves that help them to live the sort of life they admire. Others feel a life-long conflict between their " natures " and their " ideals." But part of what they call their " nature " is probably " second nature " — that is, it is their education.

But native character is a powerful influence in the making of the life of the individual. Consider all that is involved in the satisfaction of the parental feelings — the responsibilities which parents assume in the care of children; the years of work and worry, with the questions that arise every day and which would never have been known, if these responsibilities had not been assumed. Some individuals seem all their lives to be the victims of their inherited characteristics. Others seem to have achieved a masterly organization of their native endowments. And some seem to have little inherited quality.

Students of social psychology disagree as to the nature and classification of these characteristics. But human beings exhibit certain native tendencies toward self-preservation, self-assertiveness, self-abasement, curiosity, acquisition, pugnacity, repulsion, and

constructiveness. They are gregarious; they are influenced by sex, and they take upon themselves the responsibilities of parenthood. These tendencies are not all harmonious; hence, they frequently conflict with one another. At times, one tendency will dominate, as when greed takes precedence over all else. But such domination by one tendency is not apt to endure. These tendencies can also coöperate with one another, supplement one another, and criticize one another. Unless such coöperation and such criticism take place, the individual's life will be out of balance. Sometimes these tendencies conflict so insistently as to inhibit one another, obstruct all action, and almost tear the individual to pieces. The solution of such a situation seems to wait upon the development of the individual's intelligence. Intelligence is the instrument of organization amongst our native tendencies in their relation to the nature of the world. Education is the process of finding a satisfactory way of organizing our conflicting tendencies.

Native tendencies in society. Many phenomena of group life are expressions of these tendencies. It is evident that social evil frequently results when one tendency dominates and exploits all the rest of human nature. A political tyranny is possible only when the masses of the people are characterized by a sense of abasement, inferiority. Many individuals suffer, today, from what is called an "inferiority complex," which may have intellectual or social bearings, as well as political. Self-abasement may become morbid brooding on what seems the worthlessness of life; but its complete elimination may destroy that modesty

which is an essential element in happy social relationships. The tendency to acquisition may produce the monster of greed, but it also produces the substantial property-respecting citizen. Gregariousness makes social organization possible; but it may degenerate into the unreasoning hysteria of the mob. Sex interest may degenerate into immorality, or it may be the basis of the most beautiful human relationship. Parental feelings may cause feuds between families, jealousy, unwise indulgence of children, or over-strict discipline of children; on the other hand, it furnishes one of the chief incentives to social improvement.

About any unbalanced social situation, therefore, it may be fruitful to ask: which tendencies are being over-emphasized? which are being unduly suppressed? What mistaken motives are at work? How can conditions be changed so as to provide adequately and wisely for the natural and real needs of the individuals and groups involved?

We sometimes wonder how we can induce a group to accept a social program. We try to relate the program to the deepest interests of the group; or, at least, to make them think it is so related. We appeal to their native likes and dislikes. In the analysis of an institution or of a group, the attitudes of the members are social facts, just as the number of those members, their wealth, or their forms of organization are social facts. Social sciences must understand mental attitudes, must evaluate them, and eventually learn how to influence them. Students must get below the intellect, into the regions of attitudes of mind, if they are to understand and convince people.

Economic motives. Some writers seem to claim that the only effective motive of work is the desire for gain, for money, for possessions. For this reason, this motive is frequently called the "economic" motive. But this seems like an over-emphasis of one motive. Men know many other motives, as we have seen. And even in the field of industry two other motives seem to be quite as real as the desire for gain — at least in many men. Some individuals — artists, for example — seem not to be interested in accumulating great sums of money; they like to do their work for its own sake. It is creative work and worth doing, even though it brings them little financial return. Again, some people seem to like to serve their fellows, their generation, the world, whether they get paid for it or not. Sometimes, they feel that pay for such work would destroy its worth. Considering these facts, we find that there are at least three economic motives: the creative interest, the desire to serve others, and the hope of gain. We shall do well not to interpret the motives which animate men too narrowly or too sordidly. Even the economic world may rise above mere sordid levels.

Elements of progress. If we can find the motivations of men, if we can see the fundamental needs of human beings, we can understand much about social movements and organizations. But at least one fact remains unexplained: How can an organization, a custom, a technique survive, after it ceases to fill a need; when, indeed, it seems positively to thwart the fulfillment of need? Why should a useless institution continue to exist? The answer lies in the psychology of habit. Established nerve pathways tend to keep old

activities going, quite apart from need. We have many social inertias; social understanding spreads slowly, with great difficulty; the prestige of individuals and old institutions defeats new leaders and new movements; the insistence that the future can hold nothing so wise or so good as the past obstructs progress. These characteristics of habit help to produce social problems and become barriers to progress. They fulfill, it is true, one useful function; they demand that any new social proposal justify and re-justify itself. Frequently, indeed, the new ways do not conquer the old ways; but the arguments employed usually help to define both sides, new and old alike, and make the issues clear. Often, however, the attitude of the old toward the new is purely obstructive and embittering. Often, too, the attacks of new ways on the old are ill-considered, sweeping, intolerant. There is an endless conflict between the inertia of individuals and institutions, and the troubled stream of human need and aspiration. The intelligent citizen will seek to understand this conflict and to link up his life and energy with those elements which make for intelligent, constructive progress.

Review. Our study began with some attention to the variety of individual and group life and human needs. We have followed the thread of development through many windings, and have seen how these deep instinctive needs hold people together in groups, making them submit even to arbitrary standards and controls for the sake of group fellowships. The individual may resent these group controls; but almost universally he submits to them because his need of the group is

stronger than his resentment at group controls, stronger than his own capacity to stand alone.

But groups, too, are controlled by the conditions of life, geographic and social, that surround them. Geographic conditions seem fixed; the rigid standards of the group itself seem quite as fixed; and between the two sets of conditions, there seems to be little room for growth or change. Nevertheless, the energies called forth by human needs enable men to overcome the most gigantic obstacles. The "will to live" is so strong that under its impulsion men sometimes do the "impossible."

Instinctive needs develop means for their own satisfactions. In the case of the more important of these needs, we call the instruments of their satisfaction institutions. We usually think of institutions as having always been in existence. We forget that they are rooted in the instinctive needs of life, and that they are, therefore, the product of life. But because we forget and because our institutions often set themselves apart from the life that produced them, we find ourselves face to face with many so-called "social problems." For example, health is a necessary state of normal living in all our many ranges of activity, physical, social, intellectual, and so forth. But if individuals are to be healthy, the community must be healthy and all the social institutions must coöperate in the making of a healthy world wherein healthy citizens may find a happy life.

It is when we look at our communities, however, that we see how uncoöperative our institutions really are. Generally, our communities lack balance. They have gi-

gantic industries, but are careless of beauty and culture. They amass great wealth, but also know monstrous poverty. They worship beautiful ideals in the midst of sordid realities. Individuals are bewildered by these confusions of values, standards, ideals, hopes. Can nothing be done toward charting a trail through these confusing conditions? Yes, the social sciences are working at this task and making some real headway toward such an accomplishment.

But science may easily lose itself in words and definitions. If we become too bookish, we may be as badly lost as if we had never had any science at all. The world cannot live by science alone. We must come back always to human needs for the motivation of all our efforts and for the basis of lasting organization. The one true test of any social development is its capacity to satisfy human needs, practical and theoretical, immediate and ideal.

Forecasts for the future.[1] But this is not the end. We must look to other human needs, such as the need of play, recreation, and amusement, which have not yet completely organized themselves in institutional forms. Especially must we look for the community that is the background of all our human living. We must find the community in which we live and understand the part we play in it. We have wandered far in modern cities from the group life of men of primitive times. Can we ever again hope for real communities? How can we make real communities out of the masses of people, coming from all the world, who elbow each other on our city streets? How can we ever hope to see peoples with

[1] A detailed discussion will be found in Part II.

such diversified racial heritages and varied personal characteristics become neighbors?

Yet, underneath all these varieties of life, the social instincts persist: "Beyond all nations is Humanity." Most unneighborly of all is the man of vicious or perverted instincts, greedy for money or prestige or power, who is not amenable to any of the ordinary social controls. What shall the community do with the unsocial, the anti-social, the degraded, and the criminal? Many of these represent social waste; they are typical of much in our community life. After all the centuries of struggle toward knowledge, the world is still but little touched by the reconstructive sciences. If democracy is to survive, all the knowledge of the past and all the inventiveness of the present must be turned to the remaking of our community life.

But such broadly reconstructive programs will cost money, we are told. Who is to pay the bills? Surely we may reply: modern society can pay for anything that is really needed. A world that could spend two hundred billions in the wastes of war can surely pay for the less expensive but more constructive activities of peace. The real problem is not to find the money, but to find the will. The world must be helped to face those constructive tasks of peace. Civilization must face forward. Old customs, old social controls, and old public opinions must be redirected toward a more intelligent social order. This can be done. It was, indeed, done for a while during the World War. The whole nation faced a common task, inspired by a common purpose. This can be done again. It is one of the great tasks of the young people of the world to make the

world face the common enemies of humanity in peace, as a nation faces its enemy in war.

Human life is emerging from beneath the burden of old autocracies and ignorances. Nothing stands in the way but the inertias of habit, custom, tradition, and outgrown folkways. Between the moving forces of human need and the correctives supplied by science, progress is assured. Pushed forward by instinctive needs and guided by sound intelligence, the race can go on to the achievement of its hopes of lasting good.

PART TWO

TODAY AND TOMORROW

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Stability and Change

As we, in this section of these studies, face the future and its problems, the most important question we must consider is: Do we believe that human society and our social institutions are fixed and changeless things; or do we believe that they can and do change? Have our institutions always existed? Were not new political institutions set up in America after the Revolution of 1776? If institutions change, or if they can be changed, can intelligence have any share in bringing about such change? That is to say, can we have change and still have stability? Can we have controlled change?

What is progress? Men have not always believed in progress. Whole civilizations have lived for ages on the assumption that the conditions of their living had existed from the beginning, and hence were not to be changed. Conditions might become worse; hence, it was best to "let well enough alone." Some have thought of the world as already old and beyond development. Some have thought that the ages go round in cycles, always changing but always returning to the starting point.

In the last hundred years, especially since the rise of the theory of evolution, progress has come to have a more definite meaning and value. Not that evolution is the same as progress; for evolution can go backward as well as forward.

Progress seems usually to be identified with the development of more complicated ways of living. A city

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FIG. 29. Ozark Mountain cabin, Arkansas. "A country house with few conveniences."

house with all modern improvements and conveniences is looked upon by most people as showing progress over the country house with few conveniences. But the city takes its toll of men. Charles Booth [1] estimated (1903) that in the modern English city one tenth of the people cannot maintain themselves, but must rely for at least a part of their living upon the thoughtfulness of the rest of the people. Estimates for American cities place the number living in poverty much lower — but still too high. Modern social agencies for the care and relief of the "submerged tenth" seem to have been made necessary by this growth of cities. Does a civilization in which any considerable number of the members are submerged represent true progress?

Has our more complicated modern civilization produced any beneficent results? Is the airplane evidence

[1] *Labor and Life of the People;* Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress.*

of progress? Is the submarine? Is poison gas? What are the evidences which you would offer to prove that the world is making progress? Can you offer evidence to prove the opposite?

Is change desirable? Progress evidently implies change. There are some people who talk as if they believed that progress could take place without any change in our institutions, or our interests, or our social relationships, or our customs or habits or manners. But it is impossible to reconcile the concept of progress with changelessness. Therefore, we need to face the question, whether we think change a desirable thing.

We can think of change as taking place in human nature itself, though some claim that human nature never changes. But if it could be changed so that, for example, men should never again want to wage war on one another, would such a change in human nature be a desirable thing? We can think of changes in our institutions. Would changes in our political institutions be desirable? Are any such changes now taking place? What changes, if any, are taking place in our industrial and economic institutions? Are these changes desirable or are they undesirable? Are they in the direction of progress? What changes are taking place in our homes? in our churches ? in our schools? in our methods of amusement and recreation? in the relationships of the races? in the nature of our community living? Do we accept all these changes as desirable? Is there anything that can be done about them?

Can change be controlled? One of the interesting developments of recent decades in social science is the concept of "social control." The human race used

to seem much like a flood pouring down the stream of time, and no more to be controlled than any other flood. But science has undertaken the task of controlling even floods in these days. The story of what happened after the great Dayton flood illustrates this. Can the flood of humanity be controlled? Can we select *our aims* for the race, and control the efforts of men until at last all our energies shall be directed toward achieving those aims?

Nations have attempted this. Educational programs intended to control all the customs, the emotions, and the thinking of the people have been set up. The minds of the children have been definitely molded to certain aims. Any child who could not thus be molded was regarded as an obstruction, an outlaw, an undesirable. Whole nations have been thus *regimented*. This word suggests a military type of organization. And that is, of course, the actual result of too much regimentation. An over-regimented nation becomes a mindless nation. Change can be controlled, at least for a time, by a definite program of regimentation. Recent history, however, shows that such control is of questionable value and possesses little permanence.

Can control be intelligent? He would be very brave or very rash who would be willing to say today that the future course of society can be fully controlled by human intelligence. There are too many elements to be taken into consideration. The larger nations contain millions of people. The most obvious characteristic of all people, high or low, learned or ignorant, is their subordination to habit and custom. They are in the grip of custom and tradition. They hear a lecture,

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FIG. 30. The Shoshone Dam, in Wyoming. This dam holds a lake which waters 150,000 acres of land. Man and the river have fought for control, and man has won.

are stirred by it for a moment, but are swept back almost at once into the currents of custom. They read a book, or learn a lesson, for example, in regard to health, and straightway forget it. Ignorance, reliance on charms and magic, graft, social rivalry, narrow, thoughtless, and anarchical impulses are in our heritage and in ourselves. Intelligence must make its way through these wildernesses, cut down these forests, and let in the light and the law.

Yet science is working wonders in the direction of control. Many diseases have been practically conquered. Education is slowly becoming universal. Men are coming to believe more and more in a world of reason and intelligent control. Such a world may take ages to grow. But psychologists are coming within sight of the control of the mind. We are learning to understand our emotions, our passions, our habits, and our weak wills. And to *understand* is in some measure, at least, to have the means of control.

It is true, to be sure, that there will always be areas of our living lying outside the domain of our understanding, and outside our control — areas of uncertainty, of impulse, of adventure, even of romance. But more and more we are coming to understand the central areas of our living, and the world is more secure within the more normal activities of life. Most men now feel that change that is dictated by calm understanding is likely to bring us beneficent results. For this reason, in the next few chapters we shall survey our present social institutions and consider certain changes which might be desirable and advantageous.

In the past our institutions have known the deadening

effects of changelessness and stagnation. They have also known the destructive effects of violent revolution, usually the result of human inability to bear any longer the evils of a stagnant age. The hope of the present and the future lies in an escape from both stagnation and violence, by a resolute social policy of stable change — change controlled by growing social intelligence; change directed to desirable social aims; change accepted as normal and natural by the less traditionally minded citizen of the future. Is there any reason why we should not consider the application of these principles to the problems of our social order today?

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. In primitive times, the group was controlled by ceremonials, by taboos, by inculcated fears of the unknown, by social classifications and castes, by the prestige of leaders, warriors, and "medicine men." Does any one or more of those modes of control exist in your community at present? Give illustrations.
2. Public opinion is an elastic term, and includes many elements. Leaders once invented myths for the purpose of controlling people's minds. Legends help to maintain control. Propaganda has had large development in recent years. Newspapers supply information of selected sorts to their readers.

   WALTER LIPPMAN: *Liberty and the News*
   LOWELL: *Public Opinion and Popular Government*

3. What specific factors would you include in a program intended to be progressive? Would you include eugenics? scientific research? the elimination of war? political changes? industrial changes? changes in any other of our institutions?

4. What are the factors that make for a stable social order? Is progress favorable to stability or destructive of it? Is education? Does education increase or decrease contentment? Does war produce stability? Does preparation for war?
5. What movements or efforts toward social progress do you find in your local community? Does any of these movements or efforts enlist the interest or activity of the young people?

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

The Fundamental Social Unit

The first of our social institutions, whether from the standpoint of custom, of sentiment, or of science, is the family. We may well call it the fundamental social unit.[1]

The family. The institution of the family has had a long and varied history. It has ranged through many forms of polygyny and polyandry to the present monogamic form. It has established the rights and the family name of children, now through the mother and now through the father. It has widened to include all blood relations in a network of family rights and responsibilities, and it has narrowed to the city family consisting perhaps of three members. It has been the basis upon which the common goods of the primitive group were shared; and it has been the close corporation of the pioneer family in America, supplying its own wants, asking and receiving almost nothing from "outsiders." It has been a means of carrying on industry and government and religious tradition; and it has grown, in the modern city, almost completely apart from any service to these functions. At present, individual members of the family take part in industry, in government, in the work of religious organizations, but the family is usually not the agency for bringing this about.

The legal and ceremonial status of marriage has varied from a temporary contract to the indissoluble

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 1003–1005.

divine sacrament of the Catholic Church. The rights of the different members of the family to the common property or to a share in family organization and management have changed radically through the centuries. In historic society, the father has been autocrat of the family. In recent centuries, changes have favored the mother and the children. There is much discussion at present as to whether greater protection or greater freedom for women and children is the more advantageous.[1]

Through all these changes, the family, in one form or another, has survived. Society has found no satisfactory substitute by which the lives of adults can be enriched and the lives of growing children protected and trained. The normal adult individual demands relationships more intimate, more enduring, more full of devotion and self-sacrifice than his contacts with the other institutions of society provide. He also must gratify his parental instinct; he finds his keenest satisfaction in planning and working for the future of his children. And from the standpoint of society such planning and working must be adequate and as far-seeing as possible, if there is to be any progress from generation to generation.

The problems of the family. We hear on all sides the lamentations that our American home has not the same substantial foundation it had a century ago; that

[1] The efforts of the National Woman's Party and of feminists in general to secure the removal of the legal disabilities of women by constitutional amendment has provoked, not only much discussion, but also strong opposition by other groups of women, like the Consumers' League and the Young Women's Christian Association, who see in such a step enough disadvantages to offset any advantages that might accrue.

divorces are increasing at a rapid rate; that children are not being properly cared for and disciplined; that the families of the ignorant and poor are large, while the leaders in intellectual and social development are leaving few descendants. As a matter of fact, what is the trend of the family?

Can family life in a city apartment be like family life on the farm? Or must the city family build upon a new basis, created by the conditions of modern complex industrial and social organization? What can the farm home learn from the city home?

Does the increase in the number of divorces necessarily mean a degeneration of the home? Or does it mean that the unsatisfactory home is being disbanded instead of existing in a state of irritation, unhappiness, and even immorality? How can marriage be safeguarded and organized so that there will be a decreasing number of unsatisfactory homes? What constitutes a satisfactory home?

Industry was once a common activity of the home. That is no longer true. If industry cannot go on inside the home today, must both father and mother leave the home to enter industry? Can this be arranged without dangers to health and to the training of the children? What activities fill the time of the woman who stays at home? How interesting are these activities? What happens to the children in the case of the overworked mother? in the case of the dissatisfied mother?

What bearing has the family income on the happiness of the home? Must the home conditions of the wage earner always be subjected to whatever industrial abuses may exist — low wages, irregular employment,

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FIG. 31. Lithuanian girls spinning by hand. Once all homes were workshops, and much of the world's work was done in or about the home.

long hours, industrial accident, and disease? What is the effect on the home of the constant struggle to "keep up with the family next door"? Or to "keep up with our set"?

If very few activities are left in the home, and if there is no adequate play space, what is to become of the active, alert, mischievous child? What does the apartment-house child know about real play? What does the child who lives in the city slum know about green fields, about health rules, about a proper standard of living?

What effect will the equality of women have upon the marriage relation? What standards are desirable in the matter of age at marriage? In the matter of education with regard to health, house management, and child training?

The modern home bristles with questions of this kind. Yet this is not necessarily a sign of decay. The admission that problems exist is a hopeful step toward their solution, provided we take the remaining steps and search for careful, intelligent answers.

The advantages of the pioneer home. The pioneer home, combined with an industry largely agricultural, kept both the man and the woman working at a wide range of activities, all of which were carried on about the home. This had three advantageous results: First, a large measure of companionship among all the members of the family was possible, because each one knew what the others were doing, and each could, therefore, appreciate the point of view and interests of all the others. Second, the children had plenty of opportunity to play, to work, to learn how to work, to have the companionship and help of their elders. Third, these economic risks were comparatively slight; the family owned the home, and the instruments of production. Although a bad year, or illness, might seriously affect the family income, it was usually possible to obtain enough for subsistence without breaking up the home and moving to some unfamiliar place.

On the other hand, consider the city home. Among a majority of the city's population — the wage earners — many of the women are employed outside the home. The rooms (for it is the rare family that boasts the

privacy of a house and yard) may be entirely deserted during the day, the parents being at work and the children at school. The evenings may be filled with the joys of companionship, or with nothing but bickerings, induced by fears or tired nerves or divergent interests. Pleasure probably means going to the movies or to an amusement park. Little is done to beautify the rented dwelling, and most of the income must be spent for clothes and food. Parental control and discipline, under such conditions, break down. Religion ceases to be a matter of family concern. The children find their knowledge and experience in companionships outside the home, at school, in their jobs; or from such reading as may stray into their hands.

In families where the mother does not work outside the home, the situation may be little better. In such a case, the home may still be but one item in the whirling life which draws the various members of the family in different directions, and in the end the mother often finds herself quite outside the active concerns of husband and children. This disintegration of family life develops some of its most serious aspects in the homes of immigrants, where children and parents are separated not only by divergent experiences in the present, but also by opposing traditions, different languages, different hopes.

Advantages of the modern home. Was the early home, then, ideal, and are modern developments all on the negative side of the account? On the contrary, the disadvantages and evils of that early home are too numerous to go into here. As a matter of fact, the modern home presents possibilities of a life much wider

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FIG. 32. A maker of wooden shoes, southern France. Hand industries have long resisted the machine in the rural regions of Europe.

and finer than the average worker has ever known. It has the advantage of a wider economic margin. Industrial invention has enormously increased the productivity of an hour of human work. The working day has been shortened and promises to be still further shortened. An intelligent solution of the problems of industry should provide the family with a good living, and should leave some energy and time for attention to

the home and enjoyment of its advantages. There have been ages when securing the barest necessaries compelled almost the whole family to work from twelve to fifteen hours a day.

The modern home has also the advantage of a wider range of social contacts. Because of greater leisure and because in most sections of the country people live close together, it is possible for people to carry on cultural, recreational, and social activities of the highest type. Magazines and books bring into the home a wide variety of thought and experience which stimulates both adults and children to more intelligent and more interesting living.

The modern home is on a sounder ethical basis than the old. The former conception of the father as the absolute monarch of the household, while perhaps valuable for domestic peace, had very serious results. It made the higher types of congeniality and comradeship between husband and wife impossible, for the wife was considered a creature of inferior intellect and weaker will. And not only was companionship restricted, but there was no means of correcting erroneous or tyrannical attitudes on the part of the head of the house. This condition frequently made the lives of the children very unhappy. Discipline was of a kind which not only suppressed all mischief, but even destroyed the ability of the child to determine his own conduct or to stand on his own feet. This was particularly so in the case of girls. The new types of democratic relationships between men and women and between parents and children promise some very beautiful and increasingly satisfactory developments in home life.

The home is not an isolated institution. The prob-

lems of the modern home are of two kinds. One sort involves the relationships of the home to other institutions, particularly to industry, and these questions can be settled only by a reorganization of all the institutions concerned, including the home itself. Industry, for example, must help the home to solve the problems of economic security, and of training children for useful work. It must help protect the health of the individuals who support the family, and insure the wholesomeness of products supplied to the home. Consider a family with two children, both past the years of early childhood. The mother desires to return to her old vocation. She is useful in this work, and it is, therefore, to the interest of industry that she return to it. A certain amount of industrial work would stimulate her and keep her in touch with those interests which absorb so much of her husband's time and into which her children will be drawn within a comparatively few years. Yet a long working day is not advisable, either for her health, or for the maintenance of the home relations in after-school and after-work hours. Is there any good reason why industry and the home should not combine to solve such problems, allowing the mother to give, let us say, half-day service in her vocation? Are the difficulties in the way of such a solution so great that the mother must settle upon one undivided course, and choose either to work all day or else to idle at home in wasteful irritation?

What problems must be solved by the home and the state together? What problems demand the coöperation of the home and the school? of the home and the church? of the home and social or recreational groups?

The standards within the home. On the other hand, a certain kind of problem raises the question of standards within the home. If it is essential that industry provide a secure foundation for the home, it is equally essential that the home establish wise and well-considered standards of the consumption and use of supplies. It is very probable that just as the solution of many home problems lies within industry, so the solution of much of the present industrial unrest lies within the home. The problem of consumption is today threatening to overshadow the problem of production. Luxury and waste place a great burden upon industry without affording a corresponding benefit to the home. The unhappy psychology of the home in which money and the struggle for social prestige overshadow everything else is the theme of much of our popular fiction, and it has a sound basis in fact. On the other hand, the home with a small income frequently is visited by sickness or knows many social lacks, not always because the income is too small to prevent these things, but because that income is spent unwisely. The family budget must consider two things, income and expenditure, and it can be said that expenditure is at least of equal importance with income.

Another problem that often arises within the home is connected with personal adjustments between the members of the family. The modern city family lives under very complex conditions. No two members of it go the same way. Each has interests, activities, friends, unknown to the others. Every member of the family must recognize that the home cannot be happy

for any one unless the rights and needs of all are considered. This demands a high type of appreciation, of ability to weigh the essentials in difficult situations, of sympathetic understanding of the other person's point of view, of self-restraint and sacrifice for the good of the weaker and younger members. It demands willingness to look at problems objectively and joy in bringing into the home the varied interests of the community, so that the family as a family may understand social problems and social needs, may become in fact the fundamental unit of the community. It is essential to democracy that the home shall be democratic, and this means that all shall contribute to it and all shall receive happiness and satisfaction from it. But this means that the home shall be in some measure intelligent, too. This new home demands a type of individual who shall be neither tyrannical nor hysterical, neither bigoted nor thoughtless.

The problem of the American home, then, is not one for which a " cure-all " will be found. We shall need continuous, intelligent, and far-seeing adjustments that shall solve each question as it arises, so far as the solution is within immediate reach. Such a type of home, slowly evolving, will be so vital a part of the community and national life that it will help in the solution of those more complex problems which cannot now be settled by the individual family but which must be dealt with if we are to have satisfactory family life. Such a home will be different from older types. But if it is intelligently different, all will be well.

The service of the home. In Chapter Seven, we defined an institution as " a fairly permanent social

structure organized for the purpose of meeting the needs of the community in some important direction." What, then, is the definite service of the home to the community?

The ultimate test of a civilization is its ability to survive. Thousands of years ago there were civilizations which were in many respects equal if not superior to that of the modern world. But they did not pass the final test. They failed to survive. Certain disruptive forces are at work in the present civilization — antagonisms, hatreds, selfish greed. The possibility of living together rests upon the ability of the members of society to coöperate toward common ends. Happy family relationships demand the same kind of coöperation within the family group. These are the adjustments which the modern home must help the individual to learn to make. To develop individuals who can be effective participants in a democratic social order is one of its primary social functions.

In other words, the home should be the chief educator, not in knowledge, but in the application of knowledge to social living, to personal adjustments, to working out plans for the future. And since the family cannot provide adequately for its younger members without interesting itself in every phase of community and national life, family interests, that is, the interests which look to the welfare of the new generation, are fundamental and enduring social interests. They are the foundations of society.

The family, then, is the great institution for the perpetuation of the race. It is not only necessary for the bearing of children, but for the rearing of children

as well. The school does not take the child until he is six years old, when his habits, both manual and mental, are partly established. During the school years the child spends only a quarter of his time in the schoolroom. The school must do its part in his education, and its part is an ever increasing one. But the part for which the home is responsible is likewise increasing. The home gives to each child a personal and concentrated attention, and the results of such attention, if it be intelligent, cannot fail to be seen in the civilization of the future. But the only kind of home that will be able to perform this function is the one that is intelligent.

There are defects connected with home life that must be cured. Selfishness, family pride, and social snobbery are often inculcated at home. Children are frequently prevented from developing their native initiatives.

We can see that many problems gather around and within the home, as around and within all our other human institutions. All our institutions are caught in the drift of events and circumstances. Yet drifting is likely to result in shipwreck; the mariner needs to take his bearings once in a while. "The home" is a necessary human institution; but many individual homes are being wrecked. Every young man and woman needs to consider these facts with a calm and studious search for their meaning: they are facts intimately related to the future of all individuals and to the future of human society, as well.

Emotional protests about the way things are going will avail little. Young men and women must decide for themselves what they will make of their lives and must fight for their ideals.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What industries, or parts of industries, are still carried on in the homes you know? What are "sweated" and "belated" industries? Are there any in your community or city? Are they desirable? How can they be avoided?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter VI
ADDAMS: *Democracy and Social Ethics*, "A Belated Industry"
KELLEY: *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*, pages 235–260
MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 640–646; 662–663

2. Can women develop the same free and responsible social attitudes as men? If not, why not? If so, what conditions in industry, the community, and the home must be secured? Would this be desirable?

WOLFE: *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 492–548
TARBELL: *The Business of Being a Woman*
ADDAMS: *Newer Ideals of Peace*, Chapter VII

3. What are some of the most common charges in divorce proceedings? What are the most important causes of unsatisfactory marriages? What can be done to alleviate these conditions through legislation? through industry? through education? through new forms of social life? through changes in the institution of marriage?

DEALEY: *Sociology*, Chapter XV
TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter XII
WOLFE: *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 628–642
KELLEY: *Modern Industry, Its Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality*, pages 3–37

4. What is the rôle of the consumer in modern social and industrial life? Is the consumer in any way responsible for bad working conditions in industry? for low wages? for the high cost of living? What can be done about these conditions? What is the National Consumers' League doing about them?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 833–846
KELLEY: *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation*

For publications of the Consumers' League, address 156 Fifth Avenue, New York

WEBB: *Industrial Democracy*, Volume II, page 654; Chapter II in Part III, "The Higgling of the Market."

5. Do you know whether any of the articles sold in your local markets are produced under conditions that tend to destroy the workers? Trace some common article back to its origins and see for yourself how it is produced.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Religion and the Church

In our time, as in all times, superficial people say disparaging things about religion. Certain thinkers have argued that religion was invented by the ruling classes for the purpose of controlling the common people, and that priests have been the agents of despotic governments in keeping the people ignorant and afraid. Others try to prove that religion was the invention of exploiters and capitalists who have used the conception of a heavenly future as a palliative for all the miseries and injustices of the present. Doubtless any doctrine or institution may be misused. And it is undoubtedly true that religious organizations and religious doctrines have at times been used to repress and control the people.

Religion in the primitive group. But religion is one of the primitive needs of life. Any individual with imagination inevitably has an outlook beyond the moment upon his own life and destiny. This is at root the religious experience of the race. Among primitive peoples each group had its own outlook on life and destiny, and this unity of belief was one of the strongest bonds in holding the group together. Originally, religion was just this common outlook on life and destiny, together with the appropriate ceremonials and emotions. When this group interest organized itself into a specific institution, we had the beginnings of the church.

Little by little, institutionalized religion separated itself from the common life of the group, set up its own

ceremonials as ends in themselves, and so cut itself off from its old place in the group life. Sometimes differences of opinion about ceremonials or rituals or doctrines arose and divided the institution into hostile camps. So the form rather than the spirit was emphasized and religion became still more remote from life. Remoteness from the currents of life led the religious organization to forget its original function. The church lost interest in individuals as members and citizens of the community or group; it pictured an ideal community, located somewhere in another world, and taught the individual that citizenship in that ideal community would be his reward for service to the religious institution in this. So it came about that the particular interest, religion, which originally most fully bound individuals to each other and to the group later divided them and taught them remoteness from the immediate concerns of the community. During the Middle Ages the Christian church set up its ideal community in another world, and controlled the conduct of its adherents by means of their desire to make sure of salvation in that other world.

Modern religious developments. The Protestant Reformation was at first a definite effort to reëstablish the connection between religion and the life of the community. But the Protestant Reformation led to a great many conflicting theological opinions. Any one of these opinions might serve as a basis for the organization of a new denomination, and many of them did. Hence, in the last four hundred years we have had a very wide development of creeds and sects, almost every one of which has tended to cut men off from one another

and from the community. This has been dimly understood by religious people; but the gain has been held to outweigh the loss.

The social uses of religion. But all these developments, however necessary at the time, seem to our more recent thinking to involve immeasurable waste. At the present time, the world is facing some of the most serious social and economic problems it has ever known. These problems cannot be ignored or avoided; they must be met. Now a problem discourages some people, but rouses interest in others. Which effect it will produce seems in part at least to depend upon the energies and enthusiasms which the people possess. It is profoundly true that religious experience releases energies in people, over and above every other sort of experience. The man who has a religious emotion is in some ways the most effective man in the world. If the energies released by religious emotion could be used in curing the evils of the world today, much progress might be made. Hence, the more thoughtful and vigorous religious leaders of today are trying to restate the programs of religion and redirect the energies of the churches so as to turn these great stores of energy toward the social tasks of our times.

The world's need of ideals. In addition to turning these constructive energies toward our world problems, men still need certain great outlooks of a distinctively religious character. Especially do we need convincing beliefs as to the significance of human life and destiny. Modern science tends to belittle human beings. In comparison with the vast spaces of the universe, men seem like mere atoms. If we had no higher conception

of the value of human life than that men are cosmic atoms, common men could be exploited by their stronger fellows without protest. Wherever moral indignation or the sense of injustice arises, something of the feeling of the worth of human beings will be found to be present. This recognition of the worth of humanity is essentially a religious ideal, and in these days of physical sciences and the immense machineries of business and industry, such ideals are needed more than ever before.

A second need of mankind is a realization of the deeper loyalties of life. In the midst of an age that grasps for material things and that slights and even condemns what it sometimes calls "the old-fashioned feelings," loyalty to the group, to the community, to the nation, and to humanity, is at a low ebb. Loyalties to great purposes and ideals, and to the fellowships that make our common enterprises possible, are increasingly needed. In discovering and awakening these deeper loyalties, we shall find some part of the religion that this age instinctively demands. An age may lose interest in institutions; but no age can survive that loses its interest in the fundamental loyalties of life.

A third need of mankind is that of reverence. Reverence may be a blind and stupid worship of the past. Of this kind, we have quite all we need, and more. True reverence is a certain modesty in the presence of elements and factors of life that are bigger than we are. Time and space are both filled with mighty events and mighty energies; and some of these at least are so significant as to be worthy of some respect on our part. Great names of human history, great deeds, great ideals, great aspirations, great achievements — certainly there

is something somewhere in human history worthy the respect of even the most pretentious of us; certainly there is something in the universe big enough to command our reverence!

Finally, mankind needs the sense of *fatherland.* We need such a fatherland, not merely as of the past, or even of the present, but also as of the future. We need it as the dramatic representation of that ideal social order toward which we all aspire. Ignoring present social needs, we may locate that fatherland in some unrelated future world, as other times have done. But we should be far wiser, and no less religious, if we made it the social ideal toward which our present community must be helped to aspire; not merely a holy city set in the heavens, pure and clean, needing no assistance from us; but an ideal city, a fatherland of our aspirations, a beloved community of our sincerest hopes coming down out of our dreams and our social imaginings and transforming the realities of our present community life into the finer realities of our ideals. The religion of democracy demands that we do not spend too much time attempting to escape from the muddy streets of our present villages to the golden streets of some New Jerusalem not made with hands; but that as a definite part of our religious task we undertake to displace the mud of our streets with substantial pavements; and that in like manner we transform all the sordid, mean, and ugly elements of our communities as they stand at present into the beautiful and inspiring elements of our fairest imaginings.

The religion of democracy. It may be that the institutionalized church of today can never quite attain

this more social sense of its mission. But the religion of our democratic social order must root itself deep in the actualities of the present, and must hold up before our communities the lasting need of great ideals, of deep and fundamental loyalties, of genuine reverence, and the hope of that Beloved Community within which men shall realize all their finest hopes. Such a religion, offering to men the best that life holds out to them, would not be merely a picture of a glorious future; it would be a means of releasing the energies and stimulating the enthusiasms which would make them work for the achievement of their social ideals. Such a religion would offer profound help to all good citizens in their efforts to make a worthy community. It would not deny or ignore the future. It would build a future out of the conserved goods of all the past and the growing goods of the present, and would make that future identical with the needs of humanity.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

The following Social Creed of the churches was first adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in 1912, ratified in 1916, and reapproved in 1919:[1]

The churches stand for:

I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.

II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.

[1] Similar statements of social ideas have been made by the National Catholic Welfare Council (1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.) and by the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Rochester, N. Y.).

III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
IV. Abolition of child labor.
V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
VIII. Conservation of health.
IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality.
X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
XII. The right of employees and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point; and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

1. Why is it much easier to affirm such a creed in words than it is to organize it into the actual life of the community?

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Inclusive Social Unit

Government is both so very real to us and so very remote from most of us that it seems to be a sort of shadowy menace. That feeling is, no doubt, an inheritance from those darker ages when governments were autocratic, lacking in sympathy for the common folk, and often truly a menace to the prosperity and happiness of the people.

Government in a democracy. But no such feeling ought to exist in a democratic state or nation. In America, the government of state and nation is, theoretically, the express and average will of the people. It is engaged in getting some things done that the people want done; things that must be done, and that the people seem able to do better by governmental means than by any other. In this sense the state has become one of the chief instruments of democracy. It is true that democracy is a good deal more than a political mechanism. None the less, without democratic government of some sort democracy can hardly be realized on any large scale. Without going into questions which lie distinctly within the range of civics and politics, therefore, we need to consider here the sociological significance of the state. This consideration leads us to three important questions:

What are the functions of the state as a social institution? What is the basis of the state in human nature? What is its basis in social method?

Disunity of the state. When we think of the present United States in all its length and breadth, with

its diversified climate and extraordinary geographical features, and when we consider the great natural resources, the rapidly increasing population, the many racial elements, and the conflicting interests pertaining to this broad expanse of territory, the separation between capital and labor, between unionist and non-unionist, between radical and conservative, and the competition among producers and distributors, — when we think of all this, we face a serious question, namely: Can a country be considered a unit that is made up of such diverse natural and social elements and contains material for so many conflicts?

But consider: we have gained much by the development of a nation in place of the conflicting petty states of our colonial days. We have eliminated local wars; we have strengthened our defense against possible common enemies; we have increased industrial efficiency through the free interstate trade of great national corporations, such as the railroads. And every American citizen is now a possible member of this great federal enterprise. But the citizen must rally all his interests and capacities and knowledge if he is to have a real share in his government. Democracy is not a free gift to indolent people. Democracy is a great coöperative undertaking.

At this point we come upon a difficulty. In this extension of citizenship to millions of people, certain issues become remote, requiring imagination to make them real. The sources of information about those issues are uncertain and frequently unreliable. Governmental machinery also becomes complex, specialized, difficult to understand.[1] Popular control grows cor-

[1] An income-tax blank will illustrate these facts.

respondingly difficult. So far as the average individual is concerned, modern government is apt to become either a means for private exploitation and graft, or an incomprehensible abstraction. Even our democratic governments seem at times to belong, not to the people, but to politicians who draw their power from what has sometimes been called the " invisible government."

Social order. And yet, notwithstanding the difficulty of controlling our political machinery, the failures and mistakes of many administrative efforts, the conflict of interests and opinions within the body politic, government as a social instrument, a social institution, remains secure. It has reality because it affords essential benefits which every individual must have, as, for instance, the benefit of social order. It exists, curiously enough, not only in spite of the conflicting elements of which it is composed, but because of them. Without the state these elements would destroy each other and wreck society; with the state, if the state maintains a proper attitude of impartiality, they gradually criticize and correct each other until their conflict may result in some actual progress. It is not the function of government to settle quarrels by becoming partisan; it is rather the function of government to maintain a strict neutrality, standing upon the doctrine that every conflict must eventually be decided, not in terms of the interest of the stronger, but in terms of the general welfare, a result that can only be assured when intelligence takes the place of force.

The origin of the state. Three general theories have been advanced as to the origin of the state. Since each of these theories carries its own special doctrine as to the

nature of the state, we must pause a moment to examine them here. The oldest theory ascribes the origin of the state to divine creation. God created the world, and everything that is in it, including governments. Kings ruled by " divine right " in the old days. A good deal of blood was shed, some of it royal blood, in destroying this doctrine. The story of Charles the First tells the virtual end of the doctrine in England.

A second theory is that usually associated with the name of Rousseau. Rousseau wished to destroy the evils of the older autocratic state in France. Hence, he adopted and completed an old doctrine that held that men had once lived more or less solitary lives outside of any permanent social order. But, as populations grew, this unstable condition became intolerable. Accordingly, these hitherto free individuals came together and organized a state by means of what Rousseau called the " social contract." They agreed to certain limitations of their old liberties for the sake of general security; and they set up governments of their own choosing, based on this contract. Now the first consideration in a contract is this: If any one of the parties agreeing to the contract fails to keep his part of the agreement, he cannot go into any court and argue that he has a right to hold the other party to the agreement. Rousseau held that since autocratic governments had broken their agreements with the people innumerable times, the people were no longer bound to be faithful and loyal to them. In his view, government could rightfully be dissolved by the aggrieved parties. This view was largely responsible for the French Revolution.

But since the development of the doctrine of evolution, a third theory of the state has arisen. This is the doctrine that states are natural developments of the old group life of peoples. States have just grown up. Men must live together, even though they fight a good deal in the process of learning how. The state is the expression of their need of one another; and government is their effort to make the process of living together possible. Government has taken many forms as men have tried to find out how to make living in society more beneficial to all the individuals concerned.[1]

The democratic state, implying the active coöperation of all mature persons in the common tasks of government, is the latest effort in this direction. There is, however, nothing final about a democratic form of government. The world is engaged in making various experiments in democratic government, but the final form has not yet been discovered.

The development of democracy has tended, in some quarters, to call into question the desirability of having any government at all. For example, Rousseau held that all social organization is artificial, and therefore inevitably repressive upon the individual. In America, that doctrine was long held by Jefferson and the Jeffersonians. The Jeffersonians said, "That government is best which governs least." That is to say, they believed that the state is inevitably repressive,

[1] An interesting variation of this theory is found in the writings of Gumplowicz, who held that government was first organized by the dominant social class for the purpose of holding the lower classes in subjection while exploiting them. Other theories of the origin of the state, all of them variations of the evolutionary theory set forth above, may be found in sociological writings.

though a necessary evil. Therefore, that government which exercises the least degree of control seemed to them to be the best government.

The modern situation. But at the very time this doctrine was being enunciated, industrial methods were undergoing such radical changes as to create new problems for the state. The Industrial Revolution was upon us, and the beginnings of large-scale industry. Since then, our civilization has grown so complex that the great majority of individuals, the wage earners, seem unable by political means alone to protect their lives, health, work, property rights, or standards of living. So-called "economic forces" tend to grind them down. The state has been forced once more to extend and multiply its functions. This extension of function is seen in the bulk of social legislation for the protection of workers, and of women and children, in recent years. Opposition to this legislation, on the basis of the eighteenth-century doctrine that individuals should be free and that too much government is worse than none, appears in certain early decisions of our courts which held that such legislation is unconstitutional.

Today we are in the midst of a conflict between these two conceptions of the social significance of the state. Government is still pictured by most people as a magnified policeman whose club is either a battleship or a big gun. This conception survives from times when the free citizens of a nation numbered only ten per cent of the population, the other ninety per cent being slaves who were ready to rise in rebellion without warning. The doctrine that the masses of the people are anarchic

and lawless and always ready for revolution dates from the days of Greece at least, and comes to us with the prestige of classic authority. The American Constitution set up a system of checks and balances designed to afford protection against the unpredictable impulses of the common people. Delaying the processes of government was supposed to give time for impulses to cool off.

The fear of tyranny has made many people strenuously oppose the extension of governmental functions. Some hold that too much legislation will make us a servile people. The frequent instances of governmental corruption and breakdown are offered by others as proof that political administration cannot be dependable or efficient. Yet, the functions of government do steadily increase. The number of departments, bureaus, and commissions that seem to be needed by a modern city government would have alarmed the statesmen of Jefferson's time; and the framers of the Constitution, who so carefully safeguarded the rights of the states, would be amazed at the powers now exercised by the Federal Government. Under war-time demands, our national government did not hesitate to take over any private enterprise that could contribute to the success of its program. The same general tendency was and is noticeable in the organization of our separate state governments. We have, however, not yet fully decided whether these extensions of governmental organization are to be controlled by the old conception of government as a policeman, or by the new conception of government as the agency of democratic coöperation.

The democratic ideal of the state. When, as in the Middle Ages, the religious leaders of the people assumed

the direction of the political affairs of the state, all the energies and enthusiasms of men were controlled by their leadership, and were freely used by the leaders for the most fantastic purposes. The story of the Crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land and the reputed sepulcher of Christ illustrates the extent to which a religiously organized state can control the destiny of men. But no state could long endure under such religious leadership alone.

When Louis XIV of France declared, "I am the state," he meant that every citizen of France must be subordinate to the will of the king; that every national activity must be controlled by the desires of the court; and that every individual must feel complimented to be either exalted or degraded at the pleasure of the ruler. No state could long endure under such leadership.

When modern financial and industrial leaders assume the right to dictate the policies of the state, they imply that every human impulse or instinct or feeling that in any way obstructs the fullest extension of industrial control must be either subordinated or eliminated. But the subordination or suppression of these human impulses is one of the chief causes of social unrest, personal unhappiness, and widespread vice and crime. No state which identifies itself with any such program can long endure.

So far as the structure of government is concerned, one great problem appears in the future. Society needs an effective agency of the common welfare. This agency must promote the widest possible use of all the social resources for the common good, gathering from all and distributing to all. We shall always have

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FIG. 33. Joint session of the Illinois legislature, Springfield. Government by the people is often inefficient, but the best way to learn to do is by doing.

conservatives and progressives, liberals and radicals, strict-constructionists and loose-constructionists; and in conflicts of policy there will always be room for dramatic interest. The people themselves must always select the policy to be pursued at any particular time. That is a permanent element in democratic government. But whether the voters decide that the government shall be conservative or progressive for the next term of years, the actual operations of government ought to be carried on by honest and competent officials. To the

victors ought to belong not the spoils but the responsibilities.

In connection with the functions of government another problem appears. The state claims the right to regulate in greater or less degree all our other institutions and our individual lives. It is, therefore, highly necessary that government shall be exceedingly intelligent. It must be flexible, representative, impartial; it must recognize the interest of every citizen in the common welfare, and make that welfare general.

Roots of the state. Like all our other institutions, the state is deeply rooted in the instinctive needs of humanity. In human nature, the longing for a fatherland, a nation, a country, or at least a group, is fundamental. The great waves of patriotic feeling which sweep a country in times of war bear witness to the depth of the emotion which gathers around the established social order, and which is unsuspected and unutilized in ordinary times.

Men have long suspected that the state was rooted in human nature and expressed a great human need. But our democratic states, though nearly two centuries old, are just beginning to recognize their basic relationships to the deep instincts of normal men, and to make provision for the freer expression of human need. Government has always accepted the duty of curbing individuals whose self-assertiveness takes the form of social disturbance; but it is just beginning to see that it must also learn to develop and use the initiative and energy of its citizens constructively. States have always welcomed the services and sacrifices of their citizens in war time, as a protection against external

foes. But these same governments have not always known what to do with the offerings of citizens in times of peace. Yet a democratic state needs energetic citizens, fearless legislators, effective administrators, and self-sacrificing servants as much in peace as in war — if we are ever to be saved from war. Democratic governments are slowly learning how to enlist the native social interests, the gregariousness, the practical abilities, and the self-respect of the citizens in the service of the state; and to depend less on the old motives of fear and greed. Even the policeman is becoming a teacher of traffic rules and highway decencies, and a helper of the timid or feeble in crossing the street.

For democratic government, although it must be concerned with the invention of effective mechanisms for its administrative, legislative, and judicial branches, rests in the last analysis not upon mechanisms, but upon the development of citizens who will improve political structures and make the existing structure function to the greatest advantage. Government must not merely promise abstract justice, order, opportunity. Even the democratic state will never be secure until its citizens realize, year by year, an actual increase of order, opportunity, justice, good living, and good will. "The only cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." This means not merely greater participation of individuals in the privileges of the community; but more intelligence, a greater sense of responsibility, and a keener determination on their part to share in the common life and thought and work of the state.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What is meant by "protecting the individual from the state"? Can you cite historic examples of individual protest against the tyranny of the state? What is a tyranny? Can tyranny exist in a democracy? Does democracy always mean the rule of the majority? Is the majority ever wrong? How can a majority that is in the wrong be prevented from working its will? Is violence the way out? or passive resistance? or education?

   DEALEY: *The State and Government*, Part II
   ASHLEY: *The New Civics*, Part III
   TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapters XXXIX, XL
   ADDAMS: *Newer Ideals of Peace*, Chapter II

2. Can any strict line be drawn today between the field of private initiative and the field of legitimate governmental activity? Or is the line constantly shifting? Which way is it moving?

   MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 1050–1057

3. What is socialism? Is municipal ownership of water works, lighting systems, etc., socialism? Is legislation protecting the health of workers socialism? Is the United States Post Office a socialistic enterprise? Would government control of railways be socialistic?

ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapter XIV
MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 927–930
DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Application*, Chapter XXX

4. What are the main lines of development of social legislation in your state and your community? What groups are interested in social legislation?

MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 577–599
BEARD: *Readings in American Government and Politics*, Chapter XXXII

5. What is an autocracy? How does autocracy differ from democracy? Are these forms of government? Are they the attitudes of officials? Are they the attitudes of the people? What are the difficulties in the way of becoming a true democrat? Is such an outcome desirable?

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

The Institutions of Public Intelligence

As Americans we have been traditionally proud, even boastful, of our system of public education. We thought we led the world in the schooling of the young. But when the figures for illiteracy among the soldiers were given out in 1918–1919, our pride had a fall. On the basis of tests, more than one fourth of the young men of the country were found to be illiterate; that is to say, they could not write a brief news letter home to their folks, or read a common paragraph in a newspaper and explain what it meant. Many efforts have been made to account for this illiteracy. It has been suggested that the illiterates were largely foreigners, or Negroes and " poor whites " of the South. But the facts do not seem to bear out these " alibis." The illiterates came from all parts of the country and from all classes and groups. As a matter of fact, our schools are not so successful as we have supposed.

Defects in our education. Two striking facts confront us as we consider the educational situation. On the one hand, there are great numbers of people whose education has never freed them from either tradition or ignorance. On the other hand, there are vast areas of existent knowledge which are utterly unknown to most people. The libraries are full of books, many of which are read by few people, even if they are ever read at all. Any one who doubts this fact will do well to visit some large public library and go carefully over the books on the shelves. He will find whole groups of

books on subjects that he never heard of before. If he will consult the manuals of classification of the Library of Congress or the Dewey Decimal classification, he will be still further enlightened. The Dewey system arranges all the books in ten groups, numbered from zero to nine. In the zero group are books of general information, such as encyclopedias and dictionaries. Under class one are the philosophies, such as ethics, logic, æsthetics, psychology, and metaphysics. This material, though important, is so remote from the interests of most people that they do not even know it exists. Class two includes books in the field of religion. Here the student will find historical and critical studies of the Bible and of religions in general, sufficient to fill whole libraries. Class three covers the field of the social sciences and social studies in general, including sociology, economics, politics, and social psychology. Not only is most of this material unknown to the public, but at the present time these particular subjects are regarded by many persons as extremely dangerous. There has even been agitation to exclude books on these subjects from libraries. And yet, as we have seen, these sciences are most intimately connected with our understanding of the world we live in. Class four includes philology and the languages, ancient and modern. Class five covers the natural sciences, astronomy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, botany, zoölogy, and all the many divisions of these fields. Class six includes the wide reaches of the useful arts, engineering, and the technologies. Class seven covers the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and the like. A broad literature of appreciation and criticism has grown

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FIG. 34. Interior of library, Academy of Art, Stockholm, Sweden. Few people realize what vast treasures of knowledge are stored up in libraries.

up about these arts. Class eight includes general literature. Here we come into a region that is more or less familiar; but much of the finer literature, especially the poetry, is unknown to the public. Class nine covers the field of history — ancient, medieval, and modern. In this class, there are, of course, amazing stores of knowledge, but very few persons know of their existence. Indeed, very few of our people know the wealth of our own national history. One of the most astonishing circumstances in our whole educational situation today is the vast range of existent knowledge, printed in books, piled up on the shelves of libraries, but ignored by the general public!

Meanwhile, education for many is still very primitive and traditional. People have always secured some edu-

cation, even without schools. Active men and women learn how to do things, and learning acquired in this way is valuable and to some extent dependable. But in addition to this, there is a vast amount of superstition and common tradition which is passed on from generation to generation. A certain amount of this is harmless, although it occupies mental space which might better be filled with more useful material; but much of it is worse than useless; it is positively fallacious. It reminds one of the famous statement of Josh Billings, "It's better not to know so many things than to know so many things that ain't so." In addition to the things that aren't so, there is a large amount of vicious material in current circulation, profane, inane, vulgar, foolish stuff which is kept going largely because people have nothing more valuable about which to talk or with which to occupy themselves. These two facts — crowded and unused library shelves, and more or less empty or misused minds — are separate aspects of the same evil.

The influence of the war. The World War helped us to realize some of the defects of our education and the need for greater effort — especially the need for the wider extension of knowledge throughout the democratic community. Schools, however, are not much interested in the community, and most people do not care much for study in the abstract. Knowledge for its own sake is not attractive to the majority of people. It is too much like the famous Barmecide feast which consisted of chewing for its own sake, with nothing good to chew upon. The war helped the whole world to see the services of science in the questionable task of destroying men. Battleships are illustrations of the ways in which

many sciences, physical, chemical, and technical, can coöperate in the production of a machine of destruction. An excellent illustration of the use of science is found in the story of the chemist who, for ten years before the war, had been a national expert in protecting miners from dangerous gases in mines. Little was known of his work so long as he was engaged in protecting people who worked in mines from dangerous mine gases. But when the war came, it occurred to some one that poison gas would make an excellent weapon. A man was needed to take charge of its production and this chemist was chosen. All the knowledge of poisonous gases which he had accumulated in ten years of conserving life was now to be used and extended in making gases that would destroy human life. Curiously enough, because of this, he was immediately transformed from a more or less plodding, uninteresting chemist into a national hero. Knowledge of how to save human life seems stupid and uninteresting; but knowledge of how to destroy human life, ah, here is romance and adventure!

The various sciences and the spirit of scientific inquiry did, however, secure a reputation during the war which should make their position more assured hereafter. One of the most important tasks facing the educated men and women of any community is that of helping to make all the sciences available to all the people. Knowledge is not dangerous; at least real knowledge is not. If a little learning is a dangerous thing, the cure for it is not ignorance. It is a striking fact that among immigrant peoples in America there are more readers and students in the fields of the social and physical sciences than there are among native-born Americans. Library reports

show this to be true in New York City.[1] But the more complete use of science is gradually entering into all the arts and industries of life, including agriculture.

Education in the rural communities. Educational inquiries show striking contrasts between rural conditions and conditions in the city. The conditions of rural life have always tended to develop a practical kind of education and this education has been, largely, adequate for the life of rural people. Education involves two elements: facts, and the understanding of facts. The work of the farm, ranging through the seasons of the year, and including the care of plants and animals, the oversight of production, and acquaintance, through buy-

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FIG. 35. Modern school bus-auto, Cumberland County, New Jersey. The consolidated school is taking the place of the one-room school in many parts of the country.

[1] Johnston, "Readers of a Foreign Neighborhood"; *The Survey*, XLVI, pages 7 *et seq.* April 2, 1921.

ing and selling, with the wider economic factors of the world, furnishes the rural student with a wide array of facts. The country school should help him properly to understand and organize these facts. That this is the purpose of the country school has never been clearly seen by teachers; hence, obviously, they have seldom accomplished it. But an occasional teacher does this very thing. He brings bookish theory and hard facts into vital relationships. And an occasional country-school pupil finds connections between what is in the books and his experiences on the farm, and so comes to have a real education. A century ago boys educated in this way became famous national leaders. In those far-off days the country community, with its work and its school, was the best educational institution we had.

Education in the city. The city, on the other hand, lacks many of the essential elements which help to provide an adequate education. Of course, city streets, dance halls, motion-picture theaters, and other places of amusement and recreation offer many opportunities for the development of that finished air which characterizes the city resident as contrasted with the countryman. This is education of a kind, but not one that will wear long. City boys and girls, quite as much as country boys and girls, need chances to do and make things; to have contact with the soil; to know how things grow and develop; and to experience the discipline that comes from real and continuing tasks, such as the care of plants and animals. For this reason, city schools are attempting to introduce some of the activities which were common and natural on the farm. The manual training shop is an effort to set up in the city something similar to the

old farm shop with its endless round of doing and making things. The home economics department attempts to take the place of what was a part of the regular training of country life. The school garden is an attempt to copy the real garden of the countryside.

The old-time country life gave to boys and girls certain solid and permanent elements of education, but too frequently left them awkward, bashful, and ill at ease with people. Not infrequently city life makes city boys and girls polished, cultured, capable of taking care of themselves socially, but leaves them unskilled, untrained, unprepared to take a useful part in the great tasks of feeding, clothing, housing, and beautifying the world or leading it in directions that are socially advantageous. But in these days, city and country are coming much closer together in their educational interests, and perhaps some day we shall even have educational districts that will include something of both the city and the country, so that every pupil will be able to acquire what each has to offer of educational value. It is desirable that many more citizens should learn to think inventively about these vital educational matters.

Adult education. In addition to the efforts of the community to provide a broader education for children and young people, adults of all ages and groups and classes are asking for a second chance to acquire knowledge. Night schools illustrate this development. It is no longer unfashionable for grown-ups to go to school, and the time may come when it will be popular. At present, of course, when a man says, "I am a practical man; I haven't any use for these theory fellows," most people applaud. But when we have learned that such

a man is merely trying to cover up his ignorance of certain subjects by boasting about his knowledge of others and when we have learned that a complete education involves both theory and practice, then we shall no longer applaud such statements; we shall then expect people to continue to learn as long as they live.

Within the past few years labor colleges have been established in most of the larger cities of the country. These provide opportunities for workers to study economics, politics, sociology, psychology, and the humanities, under teachers of their own choosing and under conditions that make interest and application possible. Many of the larger labor unions have either established colleges of this sort within their own organizations, or have joined with other groups in establishing them.[1]

Community centers, open forums, and community councils are also being developed for the purpose of enabling the people of the community to come to know one another and to extend their knowledge by actual contacts. Much of the material found in newspapers and other periodicals is both so anti-democratic and so unreliable that people are finding it necessary to develop other means of securing their information. Some few persons still feel that ignorance is a safeguard to the community; that what people don't know won't hurt them, whereas what they do know may hurt them and is very likely to hurt somebody else. But most persons have become quite firmly convinced that the real welfare and safety of the community is assured only if all the people know and are able to act upon a basis of facts. Uni-

[1] Publications of The Workers' Education Bureau, 465 West Twenty-third Street, New York.

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FIG. 36. Municipal bathing beach, New Bedford, Massachusetts. People everywhere are providing recreational facilities for themselves through their city governments.

versity extension courses, of many kinds, Chautauquas of local and of national repute, and the works of many types of special schools all tend to increase the opportunity for general public education.

The new type of school. In so far, therefore, as schools are the chief educational instrument of democracy, they are being compelled to become centers of various types of educational enterprise, both liberal and vocational, for all kinds of people, both old and young. Democracy seems to be moving toward a more inclusive educational method. What sort of school that will demand no one now can tell. But the factors that will make it are becoming more apparent. It will not be a

school for children only, but for adults, as well. All the various types of knowledge set forth above will be represented in it. All the varied constructive interests of the community, both local and national, or even international, will be represented in its enterprises. It will not destroy the present school. It will help to make the present school a more vital part of the whole community and so give all its work a new reality. Such an educational center will assure a more intelligent and democratic development of the community of the future. It will be a center of interest and activity, of study and intellectual growth. All the people in the community will wish to attend it and to take part in its enterprises.[1]

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. The expenditure for public schools, elementary and high, in the whole United States in 1920 was above one thousand millions. Before the World War the expenditure for the army and navy was about $600,000,000 yearly. How can the nation afford to spend so much for education? Authorities now estimate that our schools need $2,000,000,000 yearly. Can such increases be justified? How?
2. What percentage of the population of the United States is in school? What percentage in high school? How can the community afford to maintain so large a percentage of its population in economic idleness?

The *World Almanac* and the *Daily News Almanac.* See under heading "Schools"

3. What percentage of the population between 14 and 18 (the high school years) is in school? The remainder

[1] A chapter on Industry would follow at this point if space would permit. Students will do well to reconsider Chapter Twelve instead.

is out of school. What is the education of those who are out of school? What is it worth?

Consult statistics from census tables and the *World Almanac*

4. What aspects of our industrial and social world are being developed without educational help of any kind? Has education any relationship to business or industry? Has it any in your community?

KELLEY: *Modern Industry, Its Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality,* pages 79–109

5. What are the arguments in the debate between liberal and vocational education? Is there a real gulf between the two?

BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems,* Chapter XXIII
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development,* Chapter XXXII
Educational Statistics from Census Reports
Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education
Reports of the Federal Board for Vocational Education
Bulletins of the General Education Board, Rockefeller Foundation, New York City

6. Would preparation for a life career make a liberal education impossible? Are educated men and women liberal in thought? Are professional men liberal? Are business men? Are working men? Are men and women who live without work liberal? What is a "liberal" education?

WILLIAM JAMES: "The Social Value of the College Bred," in *Memories and Studies*

7. What are the educational ideals of your community? That is, what are the young people most interested in and what are they preparing for? What are the attitudes to be found in your community toward work? toward civic responsibility? toward social problems? toward national and international problems? Are the people interested in these questions, or do they find their interests in other lines? What are those other lines?

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

On the Fringes of Our Institutions

Not all our community living has been fully institutionalized. Beyond the boundaries of home, school, church, industry, and government, with their somewhat ponderous organizations, is much fragmentary living which is but partially organized. Some of the interests present in these outer areas are socially desirable and constructive. Some of them are socially destructive. Some of them are equivocal, that is, more or less constructive in nature but used for destructive purposes. We must examine a few of these interests.

The stresses of the modern world.[1] Modern social and industrial developments call for continuous "speeding up" in the individual. He tries to keep up with his neighbors and with social demands; he must "speed up" to keep pace with the industrial and business machine; he must force his intelligence to keep up with new books, new schemes, new theories. The result is an alarming development of physical, mental, and moral fatigue.

Physical fatigue of a sort has always been known and always will be. In doing work of any kind energies are expended and fatigue is inevitable. The same is true of mental energy. A limited amount of fatigue is normal and healthful. It makes rest wholesome and pleasurable. With fatigue carried too far, however, the capacity of the body or the brain to recover may be

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, "The New Strain in Industry," pages 440–447.

impaired (as when a coil spring has been stretched too far), and something in the nature of permanent fatigue sets in.

The natural living of human beings for thousands of years was primarily of an active sort. Our sedentary, indoor life is a modern development for which our nervous systems were not wholly prepared. Hence, we experience irritations, repressed feelings, and suppressed emotions that are as wearing as any other overexpenditure of energy.

Besides these repressions, many extraneous factors enter into all phases of modern industrial, intellectual, and social effort. These factors waste energy and destroy the individual's capacity to live. In industry, waste motions and strained bodily positions use up unsuspected amounts of energy. Poor illumination requires excessive effort and strains the eyes, and eyestrain sets the whole nervous system "on edge." Lack of ventilation is a factor in fatigue; while proper air and temperature help to sustain a normal physical condition. Insanitary conditions cause fatigue and lead to chronic illness. Lack of the proper amount of good food shows itself very quickly in the diminution of an individual's energy and effectiveness. The worker who is underfed is always tired.

Social competitions also consume vast stores of energy. The struggle for social prestige, with its heartaches, nervous exhaustions, and breakdowns indicates the ways in which we use up our energies, without obtaining lasting recompense.

The moral aspects of fatigue. In addition to the actual decrease of effectiveness resulting from both the normal

work of the day and from any unnecessary and wasteful labor, fatigue, both physical and mental, produces certain results of a moral character. For example, the monotony of machine industry and of office routine has made work seem an "eternal grind." Such work is not controlled by the worker; it is his master, and it keeps the slave's nose "everlastingly on the grindstone." Out of this grind comes at times a loss of appetite for life, the sense of tragic uselessness. This is a stage in the breakdown of an individual's morale. Multitudes in the modern city have this distressing experience. Sometimes the breakdown leads to suicide.

When muscles and nerves are overworked until they snarl, fatigue may take the form of intense irritation, lack of self-control. When fatigue comes from overstimulation and superheated responses, ennui or boredom results. When this becomes overconscious and morbid, it is known as neurasthenia. In such cases, fatigue may become an excuse for an escape from social responsibilities. As one author states it, "When life gets too big for us, we can take refuge in sickness."

The re-creation of vitality. In all such circumstances, the human organism needs to be revitalized. It may be that the body is actually lacking in energy, and needs rest and new supplies of nutritious food. It may be that there is plenty of energy locked up in neural centers and not available for use. The latter case is the more common. In such a condition recreation means the revitalization of life at its primitive instinctive sources. Mechanical routines suppress the native instincts and balk the life-giving emotions. But excitement stirs the dormant centers of the body, releases new energies

Underwood & Underwood

FIG. 37. A group of Girl Scouts from the city engaged in the fascinating activities of the "summer camp." Thousands of Scouts are finding adventure, health, and education in these ways.

and raises the level on which we live; it gives us a heightened sense of well-being.

Play is the best means of refreshing life, especially in games that release the old instinctive joys of hunting and of combat, with their appropriate thrills of fear, expectation, uncertainty, and hope. But play may be badly organized and directed. The present overemphasis on baseball tends to make children neglect and forget the fine old group games, such, for example, as prisoner's base. Baseball may be defeating its own ends and destroying our ability to play by being undertaken too early. It is a team game and requires some matureness in the players.

Watching a game from the bleachers gives some thrill

of emotion; so also does watching a play at the theater. But " spectatoritis " is a real disease, and not a desirable one. We must have some amusement, of course. But passive participation can be overdone. Activity is necessary. Every one needs chances to be vividly angry at times, to have aspirations, to suffer deep exhaustions, to have vivid emotional thrills, to experience complete cleansings of the channels of life by tides of genuine feeling. Some try to get these experiences by gambling, by getting drunk, by using drugs, or by some other form of excess; all these yield excitement, but excitement of the wrong kind, and in the end they wreck and destroy.

The exploitation of the need for recreation. So imperative is our need of recreation and release from fatigue, that the providing of opportunities for pleasure has become one of the most profitable commercial activities of the modern city. Consider the number and variety of places where children, young men and young women, and older people may purchase various amounts and kinds of amusement, pleasure, recreation, or the chance to play. Commercial movies, dances, athletics, games — these illustrate how generally the facilities for public recreation have become private property, to be used, if at all, at a price. A monopoly of a city's play opportunities would be worth more than the largest bank in the city.

The lack of provision for play. The statistics of a single day in a typical city will help us to see how inadequate are the free chances to play. On a certain June day, 14,683 children between six and fourteen years of age were actually counted in a selected city of about

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FIG. 38. Children playing in the street, New York City. Large cities find one of their most difficult problems in providing play spaces for the children.

700,000 people. Of these, 5763 were girls and 8920 were boys. These were found in the following places:

7799 (51 per cent) were on the streets
3581 were in the yards
883 were in the vacant lots
551 were in alleys
1869 were in playgrounds

Of these,

5961 (40 per cent) were doing nothing
7358 were playing
1354 were working

Of the 7358 who were "playing," 3171 (43 per cent) were really "just fooling"; that is, they were fighting, teasing, pitching pennies, shooting craps, stealing

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FIG. 39. A small city playground in a congested quarter.

apples, " roughing " a peddler, chasing chickens, tying a can to a dog, or engaged in similar activities.

In this same city, the space devoted to public playgrounds was 42.5 acres. It will be seen that if 500 children could play on each acre, this total space would accommodate 21,000 children, whereas there were nearly 100,000 children between six and fourteen years of age in the city. As a result of this shortage of playgrounds, thousands of children had to find play opportunities in vacant lots and back alleys.

Public expenditures for adequate playgrounds and recreation provisions are justified on the ground that only as such opportunities are provided for all children will the future of the community be assured. Our present cities are built largely on the strength of men and women reared in the open spaces of the country.

It remains to be seen whether the city can so provide for its own recovery from fatigue, grind, and boredom as to build up a body of citizens strong enough to insure its own future.

The use of leisure time. Rest periods during the day, proper use of the noon hour, heathful food, plenty of fresh air in the work room, office, or schoolroom, are of first importance in eliminating fatigue poisons and keeping the system filled with interest and activity. But the largest part of recuperation, and the pleasures which come from free, random activities, must come in the hours of leisure. Leisure, we may say, is the kingdom of the individual. In his work, a man obeys the machine, the task. In the hours which are his own, he may follow the plans and desires which have been shoved aside during the day. It is impossible for most people to find release for their entire range of balked desires in work; hence they fill their leisure hours with avocations and hobbies of many sorts. Leisure, too, gives time for attention to the beautifying of the home and the community; it makes social and civic occasions possible, with all that they mean for the interweaving and renewing of social relationships.

Leisure for the individual is a balance wheel. If his working day is spent in an office in continued application to abstractions, his leisure gives him an opportunity for vigorous physical activity, and this activity drains off the poisons of mental fatigue, sets the lungs working energetically, creates a hearty appetite, and tones up the whole system for the next day. If, on the other hand, the working day is filled with physical activity, leisure brings him an opportunity to relax his

muscles, to lean back in an easy chair, to indulge in that contemplative mood which the day's activities have crowded into the background. In our leisure, we fill in our knowledge of the day's concerns by comparing them with the concerns of other people. In our leisure, we make friends or lose them. The use of leisure helps to determine the status of the home, the church, the state.

For all these reasons, leisure is a social matter. It is determined by culture, and, in turn, helps to determine culture. Our industrial civilization should provide the greatest cultural advance the world has known, because it is making possible a wider margin of leisure, as seen in the steady movement toward shorter working days. But leisure is not of itself a blessing; badly used, it may be a national misfortune. Leisure that increases fatigue, that dissipates energies, that makes for social misunderstandings, cannot be classed as a blessing. This is too often the quality of the leisure of the seasonal worker in his months of unemployment. This has been the leisure of much city life, with its round of nerve-racking, commercialized amusements.

The extent to which the people of the city are forced into unhealthful forms of recreation is not known. Baseball is healthful, on the whole, as is also college football, and the other college sports. Pool, billiards, and bowling are all healthful games, though frequently played under unhealthful conditions. Gambling of many kinds exists. It offers a certain thrill of adventure, a thrill not unlike that of a physical adventure, save that it is usually experienced in most unhealthful

surroundings, and the results are disintegrating to the moral character.

But only through normal expression of our repressed instincts and impulses in adequate and healthful recreation shall we escape both the grinding fatigues of uninteresting, monotonous tasks and sordid and ugly circumstances, and achieve a culture which shall make our democratic civilization a beautiful and joyous thing. In the rural and village communities of other times, recreation was provided for, in large measure, by the local customs. Few people thought about programs or special provisions for play or amusements. But the modern city community and many village and rural communities have no customs. In such circumstances, energetic men, with an eye to business, establish amusement parks and resorts where tired people can buy a more or less spurious form of recreation. Our communities all need to develop new and extensive programs of play and social recreation. This will require thought and invention. The need is too important to be permitted to be monopolized by those who make a business of amusements. The whole community needs to consider the matter and to work out plans that will give its members the joys of play at intervals frequent enough to protect their health and energy and to promote their existence as human beings.

As a part of this larger program, we Americans need to pay more attention to music, especially to singing. We are greatly lacking in the folk music and folk songs of other lands. When our ancestors came to these shores, they brought little of the old folk culture, — the songs, dances, games, and plays. To be sure, in

some of the mountain areas of the South, folklore of various sorts can be found. And amongst some of our recent immigrant groups, many colorful folk customs persist. But the fact remains that Americans know very little about singing. We tried, with a good deal of effort, to sing in war time, but we seem to have forgotten most of what we then learned. Perhaps, too, some of the songs we then sang were best to be forgotten.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Consider the distribution of playgrounds in your community. If possible, draw a map of them. What percentage of the children have a playground within half a mile of their homes? Are the playgrounds used?
2. Is any local neighborhood in your community in particular need of more adequate play opportunity? What can the sociology class do to help to provide that opportunity? Is there any reason why anything should be done? Can you make a plan for going about such a project?
3. What is the normal workday for men in your community? for women? How is the leisure of the community normally used? What programs, if any, are provided for the regular play, recreation, or amusement of the adult members of the community? What might be provided? Are recreation and amusement wholly commercialized in your community?
4. The saloon had a certain place in the leisure of large numbers of our population. What is taking its place? Loafing on street corners? Interests of some real recreational value? What does the "community house" do? How much time is being wasted by young people in just "hanging around"?

BOWEN: *Safeguards for City Youth at Work and Play*
ADDAMS: *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter XVI

The Playground and Community Service, a monthly magazine published by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City. See also pamphlets of Community Service, Incorporated, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City

MERO: *American Playgrounds*
CURTIS: *Practical Conduct of Play*

5. Would it be possible to work out a well-rounded program of recreation, play, and social life for your whole community? Is any one doing anything along this line? Who should be? What would such a program include? Would such a program be acceptable to the community? Can the sociology class, or any member of the class, undertake to work out such a program?

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

The Meeting of Races

Almost with the suddenness with which the World War itself began, the people of America were plunged into a heated discussion as to the meaning of the word "American." For two or three decades we had thought that America was a "melting pot" in which peoples from all the other nations of the earth could be fused into a common type, the American. Earlier, even, than this, we had thought of America as an asylum of refuge for people oppressed in other lands.

The meaning of "American." But under the stress of the World War we came to see that there were some very definite, and disquieting, problems in connection with our "melting pot." We found whole sections of our American communities made up of groups of immigrants who had not been greatly influenced by the language, customs, or ideals that we had long associated with the term "American." We were brought face to face with such questions as these: Does "American" refer primarily to the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon stock which first settled the country? Or has every new immigrant group quite as much right as the descendants of the earlier settlers to help shape the meaning of the word "American"? Those groups which bring with them from other lands their own languages, customs, and traditions — should America accept them as aliens to be turned into "Americans"? Or, should America accept them just as they come and make them partners with the earlier arrivals in the building of the future nation?

The assimilation of immigrants.[1] The tendency of our whole civic development has been to segregate these foreign elements into rather definite groups of their own, like islands within the ocean of American life. This tendency has been due in part, at least, to "American" unwillingness to accept the immigrant completely. The segregations have tended to perpetuate the language, customs, traditions, and mental attitude of various groups, and at the same time to develop misunderstandings and hatreds between groups through mutual ignorance. The early immigrants from northwestern Europe, especially the English, Irish, Scotch, and, to a large extent, the Germans, identified themselves with our common life, their groups not being large enough to maintain their own racial organizations. In certain cases, however, German groups were large enough to establish their own communities and to protect themselves from absorption. The Pennsylvania Dutch, for example, have maintained themselves somewhat apart for two hundred years. German communities in cities like Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis have persistently maintained their native character. Immigrants from the south and east of Europe, having many characteristics unlike those which we think of as American, have been less cordially received and have been largely kept from any chance to identify themselves with American groups. Many of these immigrants were imported into America for their labor. In the '70s and '80s of the nineteenth century, this importation of cheap labor became so ominous that in 1885

[1] Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 330–370; Talbot, *Americanization*.

Congress enacted the Contract Labor Laws, which excluded any immigrant who was already under contract to work when he came to this country. But before the laws were passed much of the harm had been done, and America was filled with large groups of immigrants from southeastern Europe who had been brought here to be laborers, with no expectation that they would ever become identified with the whole civic, moral, and social life of America. With amazing suddenness America awoke, in war time, to the realization that the country was full of these unassimilated groups. We now face the very serious question whether our American institutions can assimilate these groups, or whether our whole conception of " American " must be made over.

Elements in our American population. We shall do well to note here the different racial elements that make up our American population at the present time. Several distinct streams of immigrants have helped to make up the bulk of it. We shall note the original immigrants, that is, the groups that came to these shores before the Revolution; those that came between the War of 1812 and the Civil War; and those that have arrived within the last five decades — the "new immigration."

The original elements in our population. Readers of this book have learned much about these elements from other sources. The Puritan who settled New England gave us one of the most important and dominant strains in our national life. Other elements of English origin settled in Virginia; many of these were free settlers, a few were gentlemen exploiters, an unknown number were " redemptioners " and convicts and paupers from the prisons and streets of London. Many of these lat-

ter were crowded out of Virginia into the mountains, whence they drifted southward through the Appalachians. Some of the "poor whites" of the Southern mountains are descended from these drifters. A century later other convicts and paupers made up the beginnings of Georgia. Many of these first Georgians were not criminals, however, but unfortunate victims of the English laws in regard to debts and debtors. Into North Carolina came the Huguenots from France. Though few in number, they have had a marked influence on the development of America.

The Dutch settled New York. Early conquest by the English limited the Dutch migrations. But old Dutch names and the old manorial estates still show the Dutch origin of Manhattan and the towns of the Hudson River Valley.

An early immigration settled Pennsylvania with some 60,000 pietistic Germans. These early Germans were characterized by clannishness and slight interest in education. Hence, the Pennsylvania Dutch for two hundred years resisted all external influences and preserved their language and customs intact. Recent developments are tending to break down that old aloofness.

And, finally, the Scotch-Irish constitute a very important element. In the years between 1763 and 1775, some twenty thousand Scotch and an equal number of immigrants from North Ireland came to America. These groups were characterized by a high endowment of energy, tenacity of purpose, and willingness to take risks. They crowded westward to the frontiers. They served as buffers between the Indians and the more

settled colonies. They were always on hand when there was a fight or trouble brewing.

The new elements from Europe. After the Revolution, immigration grew very slowly. No records were kept until 1819; but adequate data exist for the last hundred years. Beginning in 1820 with an immigration of 8385, there was a fairly steady but slow increase until 1842, when the number for the year reached 104,565. After that the numbers rose rapidly until 1854, when 427,833 immigrants reached our shores. Revolution in Germany and famine in Ireland were responsible for these high figures.

After 1854 the number declined rapidly until 1862, when but 72,183 came over. Then a new rapid rise occurred, reaching 459,803 in 1873. Five years later, this had fallen to 138,469. Since 1878, the number has risen and fallen erratically. The highest figure recorded is 1,285,349 for 1907. In 1918, the tide reached the lowest ebb since 1862. A total of more than 30,000,000 has been added to our population by immigration.

The more important contributions to our population have been made by three groups. First, the Celtic Irish have contributed some 4,350,000. The Irishman is imaginative, eloquent, ready in argument, sociable, and capable of practical leadership. The Irish have gathered largely in cities.

The Germans, the second group, have come over 5,250,000 strong. Some of the Germans, especially the "exiles of '48," were very unusual men. As a race, the Germans are strong and stocky, not much given to play, devoted to family social life, persistent, systematic. Our German immigrants are rather widely distrib-

uted, but large German populations have congregated in certain cities and certain farming neighborhoods.

Third, the Scandinavians have contributed 1,500,000. They are found in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and scattered throughout the Northwest. They have the smallest percentage of illiterates. They are non-sociable in general, are very undemonstrative, usually rather slow, but have great capacity for self-government.[1]

The above groups, to which we must add a total of more than 8,000,000 immigrants from Great Britain, and a smaller number from Belgium, France, and Switzerland, make up what has been called the earlier immigration. So long as these strains predominated, we placed little or no restriction upon immigration.

The changing of the stream. About 1870, a distinct change in the character of the immigration began to appear, though the change did not become marked enough to call for definite action until after 1880. If we call the races mentioned above the "West Europeans," and the later groups the "Southeast Europeans," we may compare the relative importance of the two groups in the following table:

THE CHANGING TIDE IN IMMIGRATION

Decade	*West European*	*Southeast European*
1870–1880	2,071,000	210,000
1881–1890	3,779,000	960,000
1891–1900	1,644,000	1,942,000
1901–1910	1,911,000	6,300,000

[1] The characterizations of racial groups here given are suggested by Ross, *The Old World in the New.*

The new immigration. Three million Italians have come to America, settling mostly east of the Mississippi River, though local centers have developed in New Orleans and California. Italian immigrants are migratory, generally unskilled, largely illiterate. They love excitement, are of average ability, and sociable. The southern Italians are volatile and unstable, much given to feuds.

Between two and three million Slavs have come to us. These include Poles, Bohemians and Moravians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croatians and Dalmatians, Russians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Slavonians, Ruthenians, Letts, and Lithuanians. Most of these were peasants, but they have settled in the cities, taking up rough and unskilled work. They constitute three fifths of our sugar refiners, two fifths of our meat packers, three eighths of our tanners and oil refiners, one third of our coal miners and iron and steel workers, one fourth of the workers in carpet mills, one fifth of the employees in the clothing trades. They do the heavy and the dirty work. The general population assimilates these groups slowly, if at all. They are intellectually sluggish, as a rule; but this may be a temporary quality due to ages of oppression.

The East European Jews in America number two million or more. The herd instinct is very strongly developed in them. They largely hold to the severe old family morality within their group, but those moral principles are not always in evidence in their contacts with other groups. They are intellectual, even brilliant, and tenacious in their purposes.

Of the lesser East European groups, we may mention

the Finns, the Magyars, and the Greeks. From West Asia come the Turks, the Syrians, the Armenians, and the Arabs. Each of these races has furnished from 60,000 to 250,000 members of our population.

In addition we must remember the East Asiatics — the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Hindus. These groups are rather definitely limited now by laws and agreements.

The Negro problem. But the most disturbing single racial problem of our American life is the Negro problem. The Negro population has been steadily increasing for a century, though the percentage of Negroes in the population has steadily declined. In 1790, the Negroes represented more than 18 per cent of the total. This had declined to 9.9 per cent in 1920. This 9.9 per cent amounted to 10,463,131 individuals. The relative importance of the Negro element may be seen in these figures from the U. S. Census of 1920:

Native whites . .	76.7 per cent of the total population
Foreign-born whites .	13.0 per cent of the total population
Negroes	9.9 per cent of the total population
Indians, Orientals, etc.	.4 per cent of the total population

The Negro problem has been variously considered. The following statement by Booker T. Washington may be taken as an average between the view that holds the Negro problem hopeless and the view that the Negro should be considered the equal of the white and that there is no "problem." Booker T. Washington said, "The problem is how to make these millions of Negroes self-supporting, intelligent, economical, and valuable citizens as well as to bring about the proper relations

between them and the white citizens among whom they live."

There are three types of proposed solutions. First, we may accept the present situation, whatever it is, with all that it implies of racial separation and antipathy, and just drift. Second, we may idealize the situation and attempt to cover up racial shortcomings on both sides with sentimental phrases. Or, third, we may insist more and more upon a severe and impartial justice based on equality of consideration, allowing and demanding that each group be free to find its own natural level.

This implies real industrial, moral, and cultural competition without racial favors. It will tend to eliminate the unfit and preserve the fit in both races, and so help to build a permanent, stable, progressive civilization.

The limitation of immigrant elements.[1] Some of the solutions of our racial problems which have been offered have been projections of our fears. Even in the case of the Negro, serious suggestions have been offered for a program of deportation. As early as in the administration of James Monroe, the free Republic of Liberia was established in Africa as a possible location for the Negroes who should be deported from the United States. The proportion of Negroes in the population of the country makes any such plan fantastic at the present time. The problem of the Negro in American life will have to be solved inside of America, not outside of it. With reference to other types of immigrants, the program of deportation is not likely to be very successful. Discrimination against the foreigner tends to make him deport

[1] Marshall, *Readings in Industrial Society*, "Restriction of Immigration," pages 603–4; Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 187–418.

himself. The truth of this statement is shown in the large numbers who have returned to their native lands since the end of the World War.

The most practicable proposals for the limitation of immigration provide either for some sort of literacy test, or for admitting each year a definite " quota " from each country. The " quota " system is now employed. It provides for the admission of immigrants from any country in proportion to the number of people from that country already resident in the United States. This method favors the groups already largely represented here and tends to exclude others. There is, of course, a conflict between the industrial demand for a continuous supply of cheap labor and the civic demand that residents in the community shall be capable of achieving real membership in the community.

Americanization. In connection with this second demand, certain types of so-called Americanization programs have been developed. These programs range all the way from that wholly unobjectionable one which insists that our common life requires a common language and that therefore every immigrant should learn English, to those more questionable programs which attempt to compel all immigrants to deny every element of their native character and racial tradition which is inconsistent with the earliest Anglo-Saxon Americanism. These latter programs, attempting to press upon individuals and isolated immigrant groups a thoroughly formulated set of ideas and regulations, do not seem to make much progress. Is it likely that any immigrant group has nothing to contribute to our future American life? In some communities the possible contributions

of our immigrants have been dramatized and presented in the form of striking pageantry. A future America made up of the civic and social and cultural contributions of all the people who live here is a startling conception. What it may mean was portrayed, however, in the great *Pageant of the Nations*, at Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1918, and in *America's Making*, a pageant presented in New York City, in 1921.

Doubtless we shall gradually realize that the making of America is a long process of mutual adaptation and adjustment between the original American groups and all the successive groups that have come or are coming to these shores. Many of the greatest figures in American life have been either immigrants or the children of immigrant parents. There are valuable elements in every national culture. And while no American of Anglo-Saxon extraction can contemplate with equanimity the subordination of the fine old American ideals to the standards of living and attitudes of some of the later immigrant groups, yet it is certain that these later immigrant groups, if they are allowed to remain in America at all, will have something to say about the future development of our civic life, either because as cooperators they have shared in its development, or because as problems or obstacles, they compel attention to their existence.

The present American situation in relation to immigrants raises two important questions concerning human society: (1) Can a nation be made of diverse groups? (2) Can any national government be fair and just to the alien or non-conforming individual? These two questions the democracy of the future will have to face.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What were the original elements in the ideals of America?

The Declaration of Independence
The Constitution of the United States; especially the Preamble and the Bill of Rights
Ross: *The Old World in the New*, Chapter I

2. (*a*) What social and cultural contributions have such racial groups as the Scotch, the Irish, the Germans, and the Hebrews made to our national life? In this connection, consider the folk songs, folk-dances, folk-crafts, folk-customs, etc., of these groups. Do you know of any of these folk-materials in your community? What was their origin?
   (*b*) What are the dominant racial elements in your community? If your community is a city, racial charts of the population can probably be secured at the public library. Study the population statistics of your state and city in the census reports.
3. Why has America been selected by so many immigrants? What hopes and promises has America held out to them? Have these been fulfilled? How long have your own ancestors been in America? Why did they come in the first place? What positions did the immigrants you know occupy in their native land? Have their positions been improved or lowered in America?

   Ross: *The Old World in the New*
   Steiner: *On the Trail of the Immigrant*
   Wolfe: *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 242–280

4. What are the programs and arguments of the Immigration Restriction League? Programs can be secured from the above league, Boston. Should America be wide open to immigrants from all lands? What are the arguments for and against? What are the present restrictions?

   Wolfe: *Readings in Social Problems*, pages 742–764

5. Is racial discrimination a desirable social attitude? What is the democratic attitude toward alien races? What is an alien? Is intolerance of "foreigners" an essential of "Americanism"?

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

Perversions of the Social Instincts

Since our instinctive tendencies and mental attitudes were not developed amidst the complex conditions in which we live today, they are not completely fitted to the needs of the present; probably they have never been completely fitted to any definite environment. But it is likely that they were better adapted to primitive environments than to our present city life. Consider, as an illustration, the tendency of every normal boy to throw. There is in his muscles a certain natural hunger which can be appeased only by throwing. When he lived in the open spaces of the country, throwing was excellent fun and only rarely did it get him into trouble. But, in the city, with plate-glass windows all about him, the danger of throwing is obvious. Yet the feeling in his muscles is just as real as any a country boy ever knew. The city boy has the old equipment of native impulses, but his environment has so changed that much of this instinctive equipment is a handicap to him. The city, on the other hand, presents many new situations for which he has no native equipment whatever.

Stresses in our instinctive expressions. It is approximately true to say that the normal functioning of all our instinctive desires gives us complete satisfaction and a sense of well-being. But we must note two modifications of this statement. First, as we have seen, no environment provides for complete expression, nor does any environment permit complete expression without protest. Hence, no individual, either in the

past or in the present, ever found himself in a social environment in which he could freely express all his instinctive likes and dislikes. Nobody ever did exactly " as he pleased " for long.

In the second place, few people have a native endowment so harmonious and interrelated as to permit them to express themselves completely without setting up internal contradictions and complications. Generosity wars with selfishness, and fear fights with courage; and there are few whose lives are so smooth inwardly as never to have known complications.

Furthermore, a percentage of the population have various degrees of natural defects. They may be lacking in abilities essential to normal living, or they may be so unevenly balanced as to be abnormal.

If, then, we consider these two groups: the unevenly balanced and defective individuals, and the normal individuals whose instincts and interests are frequently disturbed; and if we remember that we are all today in an environment strangely novel to our inheritance of instinct and impulse, we shall be able to see how easily these native endowments fail or become perverted. We need not be surprised then to find that large numbers of people never achieve what we may call a normal life. We might even go so far as to say that the completely normal individual is an exception; that we all suffer in some degree from inner disturbances and suppressions. However, most people succeed in living within the limits of propriety and law. Some — the criminal and the vicious, for example — find themselves outside those limits; and these are regarded by society as either dangerous or undesirable members of the community.

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 40. Sheep in Tennessee Pass, near Leadville, Colorado. This scene is not much like a city street. The temptations of the sheep herder differ somewhat from those of the city gangster.

We have learned in recent years that many youthful criminals are simply victims of the gang instinct. The gang is, of course, just a primitive group trying to find an outlet for its desire for adventure, for exercise of the instincts to band together and to fight. Hence, the most normal sort of boy or girl may be forced by an unfavorable environment into activities usually classed as criminal or vicious.

Criminality. It is true, of course, that many young criminals are mentally defective. But defective mentality does not necessarily mean criminality, although it does mean that the individual can never have the same range of capacities, of interests, and of judgments that the normal individual has. Older criminals may be defectives who were never properly confined or trained to any proper mode of life. Or they may be moral de-

fectives, individuals who have a grudge against society and who feel that they have a right to take whatever method they choose to settle the score. They may be morally disintegrated by drink or by the use of drugs. They may have no native capacity to endure the conventional routines of life and work, and so they find real satisfaction in breaking rules and laws. And there may be occasional individuals, of extraordinary and untrained adventurousness, who find in defiance of the law something of the same exhilaration that Robin Hood found.

What is crime? In general, we may say that crime represents a disturbance or disruption of the normal course of life of the group or community. Any disturbance directed against the government or the law is looked upon as criminal. Any attack upon the persons of individuals in general is regarded as criminal. And any attack on property rights that may be regarded as likely to lead to a general breakdown of the institution of property is regarded as criminal.

Punishment. In the primitive world, any one guilty of such disruptive activities was driven from the group. He became an outlaw. We still have much the same attitude toward the criminal. He is still for us an outlaw, ostracized and punished to the limit of our ability. But even outlaws need group life; hence, in primitive times there were robber bands on sea and land, with folkways and regulations of their own, not essentially different from those of any other group. These groups achieved a certain degree of honor and honesty within their own order, so that it was said there was "honor even among thieves." But they felt

perfectly free to prey upon the groups which had expelled them. Something of this exists today. It is computed that in one of our larger American cities at least ten thousand criminals — men, women, and juveniles — live by their crimes in an outlaw " underworld " within which there is a certain loyalty and honor not unlike that demanded of group members elsewhere.

Changing character of crime. Of course, crimes change. What was once a crime may be so no longer, or what was once a capital crime may now be regarded as a very trivial offense. In times when church and state are identical, differences of religious opinion are criminal attacks upon the authority of the state. In the eighteenth century, some two hundred different offenses were capital crimes in England. A young woman was caught carrying off a few yards of calico from a store. This was " a desperate attack on the institution of property," and accordingly the young woman was hanged. On the other hand, activities or attitudes which are not crimes today may be regarded as crimes tomorrow or next year. For example, if a landlord should build an apartment so arranged that the gas should be turned on automatically while the family were asleep, he would be regarded as a murderer and punished accordingly. But if he rents an apartment which is damp, dark, and insanitary, in which the health of his tenants is gradually destroyed, he may be scolded but he will not be regarded as a murderer. As time goes on, however, the seriousness of such social crimes is being more fully recognized.

The classification of crimes. Crimes have been classified in various ways. One of the most common

systems of classification is that made by Sir James Stephen, given in his history of the criminal law in England. He reduces all kinds of crime to five general groups: first, attacks on public order; second, abuses and obstructions of public authority; third, acts injurious to the public in general; fourth, attacks upon the persons of individuals; and fifth, attacks against property. We may reduce this rather complicated classification to three groups: the first, second, and third may be combined as crimes against the public in general, including the state. The other two are distinct — crimes against persons and crimes against property.

Crimes against property are of two sorts. First, those crimes which are the expression of individual greed and individual activity, such as petty thievery, burglary, embezzlement, destruction of property, and even obtaining money by false pretenses. Second, those somewhat more ambitious and imaginative crimes, such as the organization of fraudulent companies, the promotion of speculative and gambling activities, which are intended, not to add to the wealth of the world or to give value received, but to secure to some individuals in some nefarious way a share of the money wealth of the world. These are all perversions of the instinct of acquisitiveness, supplemented by other instincts.

Crimes against individuals are the expression of various instincts and moods. Some of them grow out of greed for money; some are the expression of hatreds arising out of sex interests or other forms of personal and social competition. These offenses include murder,

and the various degrees of manslaughter, assault, and battery, and various types of personal intimidation.

Crimes against the public in general and against the state include treason, forgery, counterfeiting, inciting to riot, and the like.

The percentage of criminals in the population. The number of criminals in the population is problematic, owing to the difficulty of defining crime. The number of criminal offenses of all degrees committed each year in the United States is about five hundred thousand. That is to say, punishments to that number are meted out each year. Most of these punishments call for brief periods of imprisonment or for fines; so the total number of prisoners, including juvenile delinquents, in penal institutions at any one time is never more than one fourth that number.

The control of crime. The efforts of society to control crime have been varied. In primitive times, all injurious acts were regarded as criminal, and the one who committed such an act was punished, even though the deed was accidental. It was assumed that there could be no such thing as action without intention, an assumption not entirely unknown today. Moreover, the punishment usually was made to fit the crime by being an exact duplicate. For example, in a South American Indian tribe, a large boy missed his footing and fell out of a tree upon a smaller boy, killing him. This was an accident; but the large boy was punished by being compelled to stand under the tree while some one still larger jumped down upon him.

The story of how men gradually learned to distinguish between accidental and intentional acts is too long to be

told here. The institution of blood revenge was sufficient in early times to establish a kind of rough justice. The kin of an injured man were expected to take revenge upon any who injured him, as is still true in certain mountain regions of the South. So long as groups were fairly evenly matched as regards weapons, this vengeance was roughly just. But a curious story in the *Book of Genesis* illustrates the effect of invention upon social custom. Tubal Cain invented cutting instruments of brass and iron; whereupon the clan of Tubal Cain, brandishing their new weapons, sang a new song, called, in the traditions of the Hebrews, "the sword-song of Lamech": *I shall slay a man for wounding me, and a young man for bruising me. If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, Lamech shall be avenged seventy-and-seven fold.*

It is evident that a seventy-seven-fold vengeance would soon destroy the race. Hence, when the law-giver of the ancient Hebrews wrote, *an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth; a life for a life*, he was not promoting bloodthirstiness; on the contrary, he was curbing it.

But the old instincts of revenge die hard, if at all. Hence, eventually, in the interests of social order, some particular member of the clan was made the lawful "avenger of blood," and no one else could take his place. The "next of kin" was the lawful avenger or protector or redeemer of the injured one, not merely with reference to his life, but eventually with reference to his property and his reputation.

Even these safeguards were not sufficient to curb the old lust for revenge. Eventually, among all civilized peoples, the right to punish wrongdoing was taken

away from individuals. All punishment was taken over by society at large; that is, by the state. Impersonal justice was substituted for personal revenge in this way. And so, in the course of several thousand years, the machinery of courts has been developing. Courts are expected to protect the public and at the same time control the criminal and his crime. They have had their most elaborate development among the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

To be sure, there are areas of conduct that are still held to lie within the domain of personal vengeance. Questions of personal honor are frequently settled outside of courts. In the case of certain offenses, under what are sometimes called "unwritten laws," men still take "justice" into their own hands and perform the old function of avenger of kin. Of course, such an act is itself a violation of law; but there is still enough primitive human nature in most communities to enable the lawbreaker of this sort to secure his freedom, especially as courts are frequently accused of lagging behind in their work.

The proper treatment of criminals. When the general public, acting through the state, took over the punishment of crime, certain questions arose. What should be the motive of the state in handling the criminal? The first motive probably was retribution. The criminal had done wrong and must be made to pay for it. He was responsible, and that was the end of it. But little by little we have come to see that that is not the end of it. It may be that crimes have been committed for which individuals were solely and wholly to blame. But we now know that individuals are the

product of their whole life experience, including their inherited endowment and their immediate social environment. Hence, putting all the punishment for any crime on a particular individual who is labeled "the criminal," is usually not a proper distribution of the penalty. His ancestors were partly to blame, and society as a whole is partly to blame. This does not mean that he is to be excused. Doubtless he must be made to pay, and to learn. But when the state lays all the blame on one person, society itself learns nothing, and the production of endless numbers of new criminals goes on.

Intelligent citizens want the state to give up the theory of retribution and to work for two ends — the reformation of criminals, and the elimination of conditions that train new criminals. These civic leaders want to overcome the whole business of crime. Prisoners are now given indeterminate sentences which they can greatly shorten by good behavior and evidences of reform. Most states now have probation systems, at least for juveniles; and many states have parole systems for both juveniles and adult criminals. Some states have honor camps outside the prison grounds where prisoners are permitted to work by giving their word that they will not attempt to escape.[1] The general intention and spirit of all this is excellent. But the taint of prison still hangs over penal institutions, and the old influences and interests that for thousands of years

[1] The work of Thomas Mott Osborne is an excellent illustration of the development of humanitarianism in the treatment of prisoners. See articles by O. F. Lewis in *The Survey*, Volume XLVI, pages 45 *et seq.*, and pages 465 *et seq.*, "The Spirit of Raiford," and "Delaware's Prison — a Paradox."

have gathered around prisons are still there, continuing to obstruct any humanitarian development.

Modern psychology is offering us new clues as to both the nature of criminality and proper methods of reform. Juvenile delinquents, practically everywhere, are now being carefully examined as to their mental condition. Instead of being "punished," they are educated. An expert in the education of defectives prescribes the treatment desirable in each case; this treatment is then entered as the sentence of the court, and it is carried out by the proper probation and detention officers. In some measure, this same principle is being extended to the treatment of adult criminals. The extent to which psychology has revealed the existence of feeble-mindedness and even certain forms of insanity among habitual criminals is awakening the whole world to the necessity of formulating new programs for prevention and cure of crime.

One of the difficult tasks in connection with the reform of the criminal is the establishment of normal occupational interests which will give the prisoner a basis for self-support after his discharge. Old systems of contract labor under which the prisoners were treated as worse than slaves have tended to make prison labor a shameful thing. In the more progressive penal institutions, trades and occupations are now being taught as the key to a self-respecting life after release from prison. However, if society is really intending to try to reform its criminals, it must not merely prepare them in prison for a normal life; it must accept them as members of the community after they have left prison. At least, they must be provided with oppor-

tunities to make a livelihood free from the persecution of detectives and policemen and from the lures of their old associates. Prisons and jails have too long functioned as training schools in crime and vice. Society can scarcely afford to maintain them, if this is to continue to be their function.

Vice and crime. Another aspect of perverted instinct is seen in those men and women who have become the victims of viciously immoral habits. Sometimes these individuals have been educated to such a life by living in a neighborhood where immorality is rife. Sometimes they seem to come of stocks which are incurably tainted with immoral impulses. Jane Addams says that one cause of immorality is found in the types of stories that circulate in certain neighborhoods and fill the imaginations of both boys and girls with lurid excitement. Another cause of immorality is lack of normal, wholesome activity, and of work which calls for continuous interest. One of the chief reasons for the failure of the men and women who become drifters is the fact that they cannot keep their minds on their work in any consecutive way. The actual outcome of these immoral and vicious developments is seen in many forms of social disease; and the support of the thousands who, in our larger cities, live by vice and immorality constitutes a tremendous drain on the community. Society is gradually coming to realize the necessity of facing these evils and reducing them to the minimum.

The whole problem of habit, individual and social, is of profound importance to all young people. William

James, the celebrated psychologist, says, in one of his best-known books:

> The drunken Rip Van Winkle in Jefferson's play excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, "I won't count this one." Well, he may not count it, and a kind heaven may not count it, but it is being counted nevertheless. Down among his nerve cells and fibers the molecules are counting it, registering it, storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is, in strict scientific literalness, ever wiped out.
>
> Of course, this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become authorities and experts in practical and scientific spheres by so many separate acts and hours of work. Let no youth have any anxiety about the upshot of his education, whatever the line of it may be. If he keep faithfully busy each hour of the working-day, he can with perfect certainty count on waking up some fine morning to find himself one of the competent ones of his generation in whatever pursuit he may have singled out. Silently, between all the details of his business, the *power of judging* in all that class of matter will have built itself up within him as a possession that will never pass away. . . . The ignorance of these facts has probably engendered more discouragement and faintheartedness in youth's embarking on arduous careers than all other causes put together.[1]

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What percentage of the population is mentally defective? What percentage is insane? What is the cost of their care? What do they contribute to society? Must these

[1] James, *Talks to Teachers*, pages 77–78.

classes continue to exist? Are they decreasing or increasing? What remedies are proposed?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter X
DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapters XXIII–XXVI
BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapters XVIII–XX

2. What is the relationship between mental defect and criminality? What percentage of criminals are defectives? What is the cure for this condition?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter XI
ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapter XIII
ROWE: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Chapter XXXIII
BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology*, Chapter XIV

3. What are the methods of treating prisoners in your local jails and in your state prisons? Are they punished? reformed? What becomes of them after they are discharged?

OSBORNE: *Within Prison Walls*
HAYES: *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Chapters XXXII–XXXV

4. What are the methods used in your community and your state in dealing with juvenile delinquents? Have you a juvenile court? psychological diagnosis of offenders? a probation system? women protective officers? vocational education systems for those who are kept in institutions? Does a court experience help or hurt the children?

BOWEN: *Safeguards of City Children at Work and Play*
FOLKS: *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*
HOYT: *Quicksands of Youth*
PUFFER: *The Boy and His Gang*
FLEXNER AND BALDWIN: *Juvenile Courts and Probation*

5. A complete chart of the elements of the population in your community that are either defective or criminal or

both will help you to see the far-reaching problems society faces with reference to these factors. Some study of the actual effects of prison life on prisoners will help you to develop a basis of understanding of this problem. It can scarcely be said that present methods of dealing with criminals are satisfactory. The minds of students should at least be open to this fact.

CHAPTER TWENTY–FIVE

Other Social Wastes

In the mingling of races something is gained, but through frictions and antagonisms something is lost. In the conflicts of peoples and of nations much of the capital of the world is destroyed. The World War destroyed at least two hundred billions of dollars' worth of wealth. Crime and vice and delinquency use up amazing amounts of social capital. Ignorant, misguided expressions of social instinct and ruthless suppressions of human initiative cause endless waste of the human resources of the world. One of the chief obstacles to social welfare is waste.

The margin of waste. Power-driven machines have increased the productivity of industry by leaps and bounds. Yet large numbers of our population are not able to reach the minimum standards of decent living, and many community enterprises of undoubted worth are not possible because " the community cannot afford them." What is the explanation of this contradiction? We live on a certain margin of production. We waste great stores of energy and of materials in the processes of production; and we waste also a considerable part of the product of industry. Thus we reduce the wealth available for our use; and we live upon and pay our individual and social bills with what we do not or cannot waste.

Material wastes. America has assumed the existence of inexhaustible natural resources within her borders. The opening up of new resources has seemed so much

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 41. An oil well on fire at Corsicana, Texas. This fire continued for more than two weeks, with great financial loss.

more important to national prosperity than the conservation of old resources that we have wasted appalling quantities of our natural wealth. We have, for example, laid waste whole areas of forest land, taking only the choice timber and logging it in such a manner that the young trees were destroyed and the whole country made barren and unproductive for years to come. We have wasted farm lands, stripping the soil of its fertility by unintelligent methods of cultivation. We have wasted coal, and other minerals; we have wasted our metals, our natural gas and oil, until we face a serious shortage in some of these resources. We have depleted the fish supplies, and practically destroyed the wild game and birds. In manufacturing, the use of "by-products"

is comparatively recent; for many years we used only the more available products, ignoring the possibilities that lay in the "waste."

In addition to losses from these preventable wastes, we suffer frequently from catastrophes like floods and tornadoes. Fires take their toll of property year by year. Each summer sees the loss of great areas of timber by fire, by reason of which millions of national wealth are swept away in a few days. It is true that in recent years some progress has been made in the control of these wastes, but the fight for a preventive program is long and difficult.

Wasted labor power. From the point of view of industrial production, large elements in our population are either totally non-productive, or only partially productive, although they probably consume a considerable part of the average share of wealth. This is a very insidious and important form of waste, for it eludes measurement, and it affects every phase of our social morale and our civic life as well as our industrial prosperity. The problem is not easily solved, however. The mental and moral defectives, the permanent invalids, and the permanently insane are generally unproductive. Idiots and imbeciles are almost wholly ineffective. Many defectives, however, can learn simple trades and contribute to their own support; and society is beginning to realize the importance of helping them to find a place for themselves.

Among non-productive groups we may mention gamblers and speculators, the criminally vicious, the lazy, and all those parasitic individuals who have no positive means of livelihood, yet who seem always to

be supplied with money. These make the community poorer by the amount they consume, for they give nothing of value in return. The community might as well throw what they consume into the sea.

Diseases of all sorts sap not only the productive strength of the individual, but the productive energies of the whole community. Once it was thought that disease was inevitable; but a great fight has been made for the scientific view of disease prevention. Every day of avoidable or preventable disease represents so much loss and waste of productive power, and of human vitality and happiness. This is true of the common ailments, such as colds, which cannot always be forestalled. How much more true is it with reference to those epidemic and social diseases which can be foreseen! The fight against epidemics, and against such social diseases as tuberculosis and the venereal diseases, is a fight against avoidable waste. The older theory that these wastes are an inevitable part of our civilization is no longer accepted. War-time experiments in the control of the health of soldiers made practically every military man a convert to the idea that no disease is "necessary."

The waste of wealth and of life due to alcoholic drink has been almost incredible. This is now under control, at least in part. But besides this waste, there is another which society has been attempting to control with somewhat less success — the wrecking of individuals through various drugs. This danger is the more insidious because the quantity of the drug necessary to produce an effect is so small that it can easily be secreted and carried about. National legislation has for a

number of years been attempting to limit rigidly the use of all such drugs by holding druggists responsible for their sale on the prescription of a licensed physician. But the demand is so great that smuggling has become a profitable enterprise, and great quantities of cocaine and opium are circulated outside the recognized channels of trade. The number of drug-addicts in America has been estimated at two millions.

Conspicuous waste. Social position has always been measured, in part at least, by the expenditures of an individual or a household. This leads to what Professor Veblen calls "conspicuous waste." Individuals and families in their competition for social prestige vie with one another in wastefulness and extravagance, so that, for example, thousands of dollars may be spent on an entertainment for a single evening. Expenditures of this sort were much criticized during the war, but the return to peace seems to have reopened the channels of waste. Such waste satisfies a certain weakness of our nature which probably will remain in us until we learn to see that real prestige is to be measured by some more intelligent and more socially valuable standard than the power to waste wealth conspicuously.

Wasted capacities. An appalling percentage of our population is limited in its capacity to work through ignorance and lack of skill. The irresponsible character of the unskilled worker is constantly deplored. As a matter of fact, however, few remain ignorant or unskilled from choice. Many factors operate to prevent the individual from finding a satisfactory place in industrial life and from securing in childhood the necessary education and training. When society permits

individuals to come to maturity without the acquisition of knowledge or skill, society must suffer the evil and bear the blame.

On the other hand, certain groups of individuals employ all their training and ability in activities which seem socially necessary, yet which add nothing to the actual wealth of the world. This is seen, for example, in the overcrowding of the profession of law. Modern advertising, too, illustrates the point. Doubtless it is necessary to bring products to the attention of possible purchasers; but a considerable portion of the cost of commodities must be charged up to expensive and wasteful advertising. It is even said that the interests which have made the real profits in certain industries like automobile manufacturing are the big magazines which carry expensive advertisements.

Indirect wastes. Another form of social waste is found in those antagonisms which waste the time and energy of men and women to no good purpose and which might with a little thoughtfulness be avoided. The neighborhood feuds of certain mountain regions of the South have consumed so much of the time and energy of the people that social surplus in production has been impossible. Court procedures involving small sums of money but, as the parties think, tremendous principles, may absorb the time and energy of a court and of many lawyers and attendants for weeks or months. Political contests in which there is nothing at stake but the competing ambitions of several more or less insignificant individuals may also absorb the imagination and waste the substance of a community for months at a time.

Wasted enthusiasms and instincts. The normal young person is full of enthusiasm, of originality, of the desire for service. All too often these impulses are either fruitlessly expressed or suppressed and defeated. And yet these very enthusiasms are what is most needed in the efforts to re-shape and strengthen the social order. How are they lost? To that question there are probably as many answers as there are individuals; but consider this example. Of all the children and young people enrolled in the schools of the country not more than 10 per cent are in grades higher than the eighth. Evidently the great majority of pupils do not continue their education through high school. And yet at the age of fourteen or fifteen they are not ready to adopt either a trade or a vocation and few of them have any skill. In many states, they are barred from the more arduous types of work until they are sixteen or eighteen. In the interim, what becomes of these boys and girls? The years from fourteen to eighteen are perhaps the most important years in the lives of boys and girls for the development and training of instincts and enthusiasms. But for many, at least in the city, this period is spent in wandering around from one job to another, with spells of loafing, which, it has been estimated, take up about half the time. As a result of those wandering experiences, some find the work that they wish to do; but the majority continue to drift, or drop finally into some more or less unsatisfactory and badly adjusted relation to a vocation. The result for many of this distressing experience, and of many other kinds of discouragement, is loss of capability and independent will power, so that the individual develops a feeling of

incapacity, a loss of self-respect. One of the chief lacks of our social world is this one of effective wills. A certain " anatomist " has said that there are two classes of people in the world: those who have backbones and those who have wishbones. Too many of us spend our time wishing.

War. Finally we come to that most persistent and tremendous form of social waste — war. The extent to which war wastes the lives and substance of the world may be most clearly seen in the statement that the four years of the World War cost the world no less than two hundred billions of dollars and at least twenty millions of lives. If we should ask what the world got for this expenditure of life and time and wealth, the answer would be extremely difficult to find. We may say it got freedom from a certain old tyranny; but that freedom might have been purchased at a lower cost, had the world realized what was coming. Even now, every penny expended for munitions of war or for the training of armies is so much waste, if we can imagine a world organized and governed intelligently. It may be that such expenditures are still needed, but it seems certain that if a fraction of this tremendous expenditure were spent on the development of science, morality, justice, and international fellowship, we should gradually eliminate the wastes of war. In any case it seems inevitable that civilization will be forced to find some way of avoiding wars; for modern warfare multiplies the wastefulness of early warfare beyond all bounds. It was estimated in 1920 by Dr. Edward B. Rosa, of the United States Bureau of Standards, that 93 per cent of American revenue was being used to pay the ex-

penses of past and future wars. Dr. Rosa's analysis showed:

1. Past Wars	$3,855,482,586	68 per cent
2. Future Wars	1,424,138,677	25 per cent
3. Civil Departments	181,087,225	3 per cent
4. Public Works	168,203,557	3 per cent
5. Research, Education, and Health	57,093,661	1 per cent
	$5,686,005,706	100 per cent

In 1923, William P. Helm estimated that the Government was spending 73⅓ per cent of its income on its war bills; while Herbert D. Brown, of the Federal Bureau of Efficiency, estimated that no less than 85 per cent of our revenue was being absorbed by war costs. There can be no doubt that war is our chief national extravagance.

Keeping the social surplus small. There are other forms of waste which operate to prevent production and so to keep the possible surplus small. Our present system of ownership of wealth and income probably tends to dissipate much of our produced wealth. King estimated that in 1910, 2 per cent of the population owned 60 per cent of the wealth of America, while 80 per cent of the population owned less than 10 per cent of the wealth. To be sure, wealth and income are not identical. Workmanship gets a real share of the income of the nation even though workers hold little of the wealth. Eighty-six per cent of the population gets 61 per cent of the income of the country; 5 per cent of the population, the richest members, get 24 per cent of the income of the country. If this excess income were to be

used as industrial capital, such inequitable distribution might be justified.

But inequitable distribution of wealth, together with the disagreeable character of certain kinds of work, helps to develop industrial unrest, with its attendant wastes. In 1913, Great Britain had 1497 strikes and lockouts, involving 688,925 workers, and resulting in the loss of 11,630,732 working-days. If we compute each lost day as worth five dollars in productivity, the nation lost $58,153,660. This is an illustration of the wastefulness of our present methods. The total waste from these sources throughout our industrial civilization is beyond computation. Workers are not to be blamed beyond all others for these conditions. Waste is something for which we are all responsible. A strike may entail present waste; but it may help to prevent future waste of greater magnitude. Our social resources, the wealth of the community, must pay the bills of the community. Some waste wealth; others hoard and monopolize it. Some waste it by the penny; others waste it by the million. The problem is social. It must be faced by all, even though facing it may make necessary new methods of production and new systems of distributing the wealth and income of the world. The only cure for waste of any sort is intelligence. And no one can tell what intelligence will do with the world when it gains control of it.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Suggest several directions, aside from the conservation of human life, in which we, as a nation, need to practice

conservation. What is being done about forests, minerals, and water power?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapters XV–XVI
BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*, Chapter XVI
Year Book of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1912 to date
Bulletins and special reports of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and Department of Interior
VAN HISE: *Conservation of Natural Resources*

2. What are some of the agencies working to conserve human life? What are their programs? their methods? their difficulties?

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter XVII
The various national agencies for the conservation of human life all publish reports; most of them will have local organizations in your community

3. (*a*) Consider carefully the social wastes that come of unemployment from whatever causes. Make a careful study of the wastes of your community along this line.

TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapter VIII
BEVERAGE: *Unemployment*
NEARING: *Social Religion*, Chapter VIII
WARNER: *American Charities*
Bulletins of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, Nos. 109 and 172

(*b*) What examples of "conspicuous waste" exist in your community?

4. Follow up the idea of "social surplus." What part of the nation's productivity is saved each year? Get statistics of savings from any savings bank. What effect would the development of a widely distributed surplus have on the work habits of the people? Would it tend to discourage work? If so, would not that tend to limit the growth of savings? And if savings grew too great, would not some general destruction of savings be necessary, as, for example, by war, so that people would once more have some reason for working? Is not this a real argument for war? Where is the fallacy?

5. What part of the social surplus in your state goes to the support of governmental activities, through taxes? What part of this is spent for social welfare programs? Could the community pay for larger governmental activities? Is governmental activity wasteful? Why? How can governmental wastes be prevented? Is anything being done in your community or your state to prevent wastes, governmental, municipal, or private?

STUART CHASE: *The Challenge of Waste*, Labor Bureau, Inc. *Waste in Industry:* Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies, 1921.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

World Population and American Problems

Long before the World War, the intermingling of peoples in America had raised problems relating to our relationships to the other countries of the world. The war emphasized these problems. Washington's final advice to America to keep out of all entangling alliances with peoples of other lands became impracticable when the population of America had become so diversified that every other nation in the world had an interest in our policies. The long struggle over the League of Nations illustrates the conflict that exists in America today between that old program of no alliances of any sort and the necessities of the new day for coöperation.

One race or many? Racial antagonisms are very real and have their roots in the economic and social life of the primitive tribes and prehistoric times. Certain racial groups hold themselves to be superior, and consider others backward. The white races generally assume this attitude of superiority, and believe that the civilization of the world depends particularly upon them. Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," is the best expression of this idea. The black races rather generally accept the status of "backwardness." But the yellow peoples, especially the Japanese, are greatly disturbed by this assumption of superiority on the part of the white man. One of the acute political problems of the future appears here: Will the white nations eventually recognize the Japanese and Chinese as entitled to equality of status with the other "great nations"?

These racial questions will not be easily settled. Racial distinctions are not easily ignored. Industry may ignore them, but politics cannot; social classes develop definite attitudes toward them; and in general racial differences constitute a barrier between individuals. A race is defined as a "great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing peculiarities which seem to have been derived from some primitive source." There are at least three distinct races: the white, the yellow, and the black. Racial peculiarities include differences in average weight, height, head measurements, features, pigmentation, and the like. They also include differences in intellectual characteristics and capacities, types of neural organization and control, of social interests, habits, traditions, and the like.

The basis of racial antagonisms. Race prejudice is an irrational survival from the tribal stages of society, renewed by education in each generation. When populations had increased to the point where group pressed heavily upon group in the primitive world, the struggle for existence became terrific and the age of predatory culture set in. In such a time of group struggle, the very existence of the group or tribe depended upon the development and preservation of a group consciousness and common action that would make the group a solid unit in its struggle with its neighbors or with the difficulties of securing a food supply. This sense of group solidarity included all the familiar and dependable elements round about — members of the blood-group, wives and children, friendly acquaintances, blood brothers and members of friendly or allied neighbor

groups, and, indeed, the full tribe. Certain common traits in all these members were signs of friendliness. These traits included bodily characteristics, habits of dress and ornamentation, mental and social character, customs, manners, and the like. All primitive groups distrust the unfamiliar, whether expressed in bodily characteristics, mental and social type, or institutional forms. The unfamiliar seems to threaten the existence of the group. When the unfamiliar comes too near, it may cause a deep rage to develop; always, it arouses antagonism, and the antagonism finally attaches itself to the most obvious mark of dissimilarity. In the case of races, that is, of course, the color.

Subdivisions of races. But unlikeness also develops within the races themselves. The white race is broken into innumerable groups. Economic, social, moral, and religious differences have developed. Various stratifications of society have been formed. Sometimes these differences and stratifications have been justified on the ground of innate physical and mental differences. On the basis of these differences serious antagonisms have emerged. This is especially true wherever racial fragments find themselves gradually being eliminated. Europe is the best illustration of this development. Europe has about one nineteenth of the land surface of the earth, yet its population is more than 450,000,000, or about one fourth of all mankind — about 120 to the square mile. This means intense crowding in certain areas. And since the population of Europe is made up of scores of groups, each with a history and tradition of which it is proud, crowding becomes the basis of endless petty antagonisms, and occasion-

ally of wars that destroy the works and the wealth of generations.

The hope of inter-group amity. America, with the rest of the world, is face to face with the question whether the peoples of the world can ever learn to live together in harmony. We sometimes fear that the various peoples are so distinct that there is no possibility of their ever learning how to establish amicable relationships. It is true that the different races have distinctive traits which exert a continuous influence upon their growth and culture. Some of the distinctive characteristics of a people may constitute an insuperable barrier to a common world state. But for the most part national idiosyncracies are due less to human nature than to the continuous intercourse which members of the same nation have with each other, and their continuous imitation of one another, their adherence to their group, and their acceptance of its social traditions. Education may thus be more responsible for national traits and antagonisms than is innate human nature. Education, as the means by which customs are perpetuated, is responsible for similarities or differences in language, religious customs, political attitudes, moral principles, common habits of living, as eating, dressing, housing, recreation, and the like.

Inescapable problems. Certain facts of the modern world are inescapable. First, the races of the world must meet. The development of lines of intercommunication and travel has already to a great extent broken down all the old barriers. The World War brought great armies from practically every nation of the earth into intimate contact in the warring areas of

Europe and Asia. What is to be the outcome of these inevitable meetings of the peoples of the earth? There are three possible answers to this question.

First, the peoples may learn how to live together, either as original groups establishing inter-group relationships and fellowships, or as elements which will gradually merge into a composite mixture, making a single race for the whole earth.

Second, they may wall themselves off from one another, racially and socially, and deal with one another from behind their walls, as the Chinese once attempted to deal with the Tatars. They may thereafter effect a sort of *modus vivendi* which will recognize the existence and permanence of racial antagonisms.

Third, these various peoples may fight one another in a continuous series of wars until all the weaker groups are exterminated and one dominant type remains, or until the population of the earth is so reduced that the remaining groups find themselves virtually cut off from one another, and free to live their own lives in their own ways, at least until such time as increase of population once more inaugurates group conflicts and destructive wars.

America's share in these problems. America is profoundly interested in understanding and in solving these problems. In the first place, they greatly affect the existence and development of an adequate American standard of living. America is proud of the fact that we have developed the highest general standard of living of any nation; but the competition of immigrants from more backward lands has frequently threatened the permanence of our high standards. For example,

certain Oriental peoples, with their lower standards, would tend to destroy American standards, if they were freely admitted to this country. Again, the gradual achievement of an understanding between American labor and the management of American industries has tended to stabilize industrial conditions in America, and the scarcity of laborers has helped the American workingman to secure a more adequate share in the wealth produced by industry. At the present time, one of the most constant fears of the American workingman is that all these gains will be undermined by the sudden admission of large numbers of cheap laborers, such as Chinese coolies, into the country. This opening of our gates has been advocated at times by interests desiring large supplies of unskilled labor. But it has been consistently opposed by all who are interested in maintaining the free status of the American workingman and the American standard of living.

America is interested in these problems from another point of view. World relationships may require the development of a military policy free from those old imperialistic ambitions which were the main motives of the days of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. The World War did not completely destroy such ambitions. America has been accused, at times, of harboring them. World problems may be played up by interested groups in such ways as to make it seem necessary that America should prepare to take her place among the imperialistic nations. This would probably mean the development of universal military training and service and the working out of a national program of " areas of interest " in different parts of the world, which would destroy our

old-time independence, and especially end all our old-time desires to escape from militarism.

On the other hand, America seems to be moving on towards a distinct industrial civilization, with whatever reorganizations of custom and culture that must make necessary. Certainly it will mean the setting up of a complete system of world-wide industrial and financial relationships. What America produces and manufactures must be made available to all the peoples of the earth who need our products; and what the other peoples of the world produce must be made available to us in so far as we need it. This involves world communications, the intermingling of the business representatives of the world, and the gradual disappearance of all the old community isolations. It does not mean that we shall assume the right to force upon other peoples products which they do not care for or to impose upon them customs or education not fitted to their characters. Nor does it mean that we of America must accept every bizarre novelty that may come to us from other lands.

Democracy and race antagonisms. There are those who admit that democracy may be possible in a group the individual members of which have a common inheritance and tradition; but who say that our heterogeneous masses with all their bickerings and antagonisms can bring nothing but the inevitable failure of democracy. Ex-President Wilson suggested, just before we went into the World War, that the task of democracy was shortly to be transferred from the American stage to the world stage. Our own American life had become rather sordid and thoughtless before

the war. We had become corrupted by commercialism and careless of the higher values of life. Once, America had been the asylum of refuge for the oppressed of all lands; millions had come here to find freedom. In the two or three decades preceding the war, however, there was a growing feeling among many of both our native and our foreign-born citizens that America had lost her old-time interest in freedom. Jane Addams said that the typical American was no longer interested in democracy; he was interested only in "getting ahead." President Wilson suggested that America needed to feel the competition of other democracies in order that she might be inspired once again to the great tasks of liberty and freedom. For this reason he hoped that the World War would result in the setting up of many other democracies. If such democracies were established, individuals suffering from the oppressions of tyranny anywhere on the earth could migrate to that particular land where they could find the desired degree of freedom. America would then be compelled to examine herself very closely in order to discover whether she were holding fast to her old ideals. Such competition in democracy would be a good thing for America and for the world at large.

Other democracies need not be exactly like our own. Indeed, they probably could not and would not be. Democracy is an experiment anywhere. There would be no sense in making an experiment elsewhere exactly like our own. The world needs variety. The great hope of the world is that — in Russia, for example, or in Germany — a new type of democracy may develop which will both support and criticize our own American

type. Perhaps by developing the spirit of democratic tolerance, and extending that spirit to inter-group relationships, a beginning may be made in the solution of the problems of racial antagonism which now so seriously threaten the peace of the world.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What are the present theories as to the origin of the human race?

   OSBORNE: *Men of the Old Stone Age*
   STODDARD: *The Rising Tide of Color;* Introduction
   KEANE: *Man, Past and Present*

2. What is the present population of the earth by the great racial divisions? How are these divisions distributed over the earth? What is the relative stage of the civilization of each?

World Almanac
GROSVENOR: "The Races of Europe," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, December, 1918.
TOWNE: *Social Problems*, Chapters II, III
STODDARD: *The Rising Tide of Color*, Part I, and Chapter XII

3. Consider the relative importance of the various means proposed for the overcoming of racial antagonisms; for example, a league of nations, international fellowships of all sorts; universal disarmament; universal armament. What is the probability of America's adopting a general policy of militarism? Is the world moving toward peace or war?

Publications of the American Association for International Conciliation, Sub-station 84, New York City
Publications of the League to Enforce Peace, New York City
KALLEN: *The Structure of Lasting Peace*
See *Reader's Guide* for recent controversial articles
Publications of the American Peace Society, Boston
Publications of the Foreign Policy Association, New York City

4. What would be some of the advantages and disadvantages to our American democracy of the development of other great democracies in the world; for example, in Russia, China, and Germany?

See *Reader's Guide* under "Chinese Republic," "The New China," "Russian Democracy," "Germany since 1918," etc.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

The Democratic Movement

Some opponents of modern democratic developments speak and write as if democracy were being forced upon the world by a few designing individuals. Even the friends of democracy sometimes act as if the movement must be saved, if saved at all, by a few special agents. But the fact is that democratic developments have been, and are being, forced upon us, not by the designs of a few, nor by the foresight of a few, but by the inescapable forces and needs of the world.

The failure of autocracy. An autocratic social order is too simple for modern complex social conditions; it is too wasteful of human and natural resources. It attempts impossible things. It provides a dignified life for a select few. In order to make room for these few, it represses and suppresses the inner lives of the rest of the people. A few, selected for their abilities in the first place, perhaps, are chosen for leadership; the rest follow. Little by little, the leaderships become hereditary in particular families or particular social classes, and they are maintained, whether they serve group purposes or not. Such leaderships and such established prestige definitely limit the ability of the group to make progress, because they definitely limit the number of individuals from which leaders may come. No small, unselected group can adequately plan for a large group for any length of time; nor can any limited number within a group furnish the variety of initiative which makes healthful evolution possible. For this reason an

autocracy eventually becomes impossible. It destroys itself.

The autocratic régime is inevitably a régime of great and unnatural extremes. A few arrogate to themselves a monopoly of the goods of the world, while the many are compelled to exist in various stages of misery and degradation. Modern democratic social orders have inherited some of these same conditions; and we have accepted the inheritance all too readily. Nothing hampers progress so much as a fixed belief in the inevitability of human misery. Democracy should lift itself above these low ideals. Democracy should believe in unlimited progress and should do away with all artificial barriers to leadership and social experimentation.

Under autocratic dynasties, the unnatural repression and suppression of large numbers of the population produced explosive material which made such social orders inevitably unstable. Russia under the czars shows this. Democracy represents the instinctive efforts of men to work out a social order in which repression of individuality shall be reduced to a minimum. Nothing can arrest this development for long. It is not being forced upon people by a designing few, neither can it be controlled for long by a select few. It is the slow emergence of individuality in the race, and for this reason it was said above that democracy has been forced upon the race by the very necessities of human existence.

What is democracy? In this sense, democracy is a great moral and spiritual vision of social relationships which the race has caught more or less dimly, and which it now seeks to realize. No one should doubt the difficulty of this task, or attempt to minimize the long

struggle which it involves. The difficulties are exacting and extensive. In the first place, democracy involves such a thoroughgoing reconstitution of the old social orders, such a complete about-face of individuals and groups that, to be truly successful, it should attack all points of the social problem at one and the same time. Democracy does not mean a patched-up autocracy, but a reconstructed world, with changed motivations and changed aims and purposes. But the task of reconstruction is so vast as to be appalling; therefore, the actual development of democratic programs has been and will be made step by step.

The method of democracy. Step-by-step progress is disheartening to many persons. It seems too completely localized in space and time. That which is still undone completely overshadows that which has been accomplished. Some specific step in progress may be achieved at some particular moment in some particular community; but what of the countless other communities, and the long, long years of waiting?

Democracy, therefore, calls for a peculiarly difficult type of social effort. It requires a constant and cooperative striving for better things in the name of the common good rather than in the name of any local or individual good. And such effort is peculiarly difficult to our American temper, for the whole history of America has glorified the strivings of the individual.

Democracy and geography. In another respect, democracy meets difficulties. Any American program of social progress must reach the attention of more than a hundred million individuals scattered over immense areas, and divided into extremely diversified and even

antagonistic groups. Such a program needs adequate means of publicity and interpretation. It must be communicated and it must be understood. Without the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and the fast mail, a nation like America would be impossible. But these means of communication carry such varied and contrasting data that they frequently make for confusion rather than for understanding. Newspapers and periodicals present opinions in regard to social problems, ranging all the way from medieval reactionism to doctrines of the most radical and disintegrating kind. Even matters of fact are rarely transmitted without bias in the selection of details. Out of all this propaganda, the average individual must absorb such materials as will make him fairly intelligent with regard to his present duties and to the programs that are pressing for adoption. Under such conditions, no wonder large numbers find themselves wandering in ignorance and superstition, or lost in the murky fogs of destructive radicalism. The achievement of real democracy in a nation of a hundred million people will require long years of striving. America was not finished when the Constitution was adopted.

Democracy and politics. Another of the obstacles to democratic progress is the lack of trained political leaders who thoroughly believe in democracy. We have many politicians who do not believe in democracy; and plenty of untrained men and women who do believe in democracy, but who do not know what it means, or how they can help to bring it about. But we have a serious lack of democratic leaders. Abraham Lincoln is an example of the leadership we need today. He was

compelled to do the most serious political thinking, and yet he stood for a government of the *people*, by the *people*, and for the *people*. Today, as never before, there is room in the field of politics for young people of initiative, fearlessness, and broad vision: leaders who believe in democracy and know what they are doing. Such leaders should be extremely sensitive, not so much to current opinion, as to the deeper tides of popular intelligence. They should include both conservative and radical types, each type continuously and seriously presenting its program and striving to secure the allegiance of the people, not by political chicanery but by awakening thought in the mind of the masses. We are always very likely to be oversupplied with "politicians." But our need is for statesmen who believe that the good of any individual is involved in the general good, and who seriously strive for the general good in intelligent and constructive ways.

Democracy and the common man. All the older social orders assumed that the average individual would not and could not be interested in political affairs. But when citizens of a democracy talk about "political matters," they mean the problems of social order, individual opportunity, and the common welfare. Hence, whether he knows it or not, every individual is profoundly concerned with politics. Democracy is the political order that realizes and respects the intimate relationships of every individual to the social world about him. The true democrat knows that since every individual is deeply involved in the social order in which he lives, one of the main tasks of that social order must be to make sure that the individual realizes his relation-

ships, informs himself concerning them, and accepts the civic responsibilities to which they give rise. The indifference to political affairs that characterized the masses of people under aristocratic and autocratic forms of government must be overcome. It is a long task. Men have been trained for centuries *not* to think about civic matters. They must now be patiently taught their responsibilities and helped to interest themselves in the problems of the community. Democracy must not assume that people are interested; it must undertake to make them interested. The problems of the civic order are profoundly important for the welfare of every individual, constituting for him a task the solution of which requires a concentration similar to that devoted to religious interests in former ages.

We sometimes hear it said that "in America every man is a king." Advertisements of silk shirts are sometimes addressed to "His Majesty, the American Gentleman." But silk shirts no longer make kings; and such suggestions tend to cover up the fact of the common citizenship, the common responsibility, the common problems of all Americans. Citizenship in a democracy means the exercise of those qualities which operate to make a good neighborhood, a good nation, and a good world. The development of a sympathetic and thoughtful devotion to the interests of the community, whether large or small, is the task of democracy.

Must democracy be colorless? The charge is frequently made by the opponents of democracy that a democratic social order must necessarily be monotonous. They insist that autocracy offers contrasts which lend interest to life; but that democracy will reduce all

individuals and classes to a common mediocre level from which all color and variety will have vanished. But the color and variety of autocracy grows out of the perpetuation of injustices. These injustices become institutionalized, resulting in such conspicuous examples of waste as the man who dresses in purple and fine linen and fares sumptuously every day, while, at the gate of his palace, lies the sick beggar with dogs licking his sores. Such contrasts undoubtedly add color and variety to life, but it is a type of color and variety which humanity has decided to dispense with.

Opposed to this view, the true democrat sees in democracy magnificent opportunities for the development of all the riches of human living. No two individuals are alike, and every generation reveals individual differences ranging all the way from the dazzling light of genius to the darkness of incurable defect. Old differences do not have to be institutionalized and perpetuated in order to provide variety and color. Each generation, if left free to discover its latent talents, could provide colorful and dramatic developments. The trouble seems to be that when certain contrasts are destroyed, vested forces do their best to obstruct new developments.

The strength of democracy. There is an ancient doctrine that the strength of any social order lies in the strength of a few great leaders and the subservience of the masses. But democracy is slowly realizing that, while great leaders are necessary, the strength of the new social order is to be found in the capable, well-developed, self-directing, and devoted members of the rank and file. Not alone must the citizens of a democ-

racy share in the goods of society; they must have a greater share in creating those goods, whether physical or moral, and in planning the programs by means of which those goods are to be realized.

In these developments, certain fundamental factors must be taken into account. Democracy does not insist that whatever is old must be useless or that whatever is new must be valuable; it does not lose sight of the actual facts of history. Democracy insists upon examining both the old and the new; it will save certain valuable group forms of the past, and will make them over to fit the needs of the present. It will accept nothing new unless that new promises some real gain in welfare or efficiency. It will likewise examine and criticize all its old standards. When these old standards obstruct progress, it will create new ones. Democracy will neither discard standards merely because they are old nor accept standards merely because they are new. Democracy will try to be intelligent in its constructions, as engineers try to be intelligent in their construction.

The significance of democracy is thus found in the gradual transfer of the control of life from some traditional or external center of authority to the individual members of the democratic group. Democracy is individualism; but not the old individualism. It calls for a socialized individual, who can be trusted with the control of his own destiny. This individual will be mindful of the effect of his actions upon all the other members of the community.

Democracy and leadership. Democracy expects every individual to have a sense of loyalty to his group

or community or nation. But at the same time it must give him a chance to develop a sense of responsibility that will make him capable of becoming a leader. Loyalty is not synonymous with subordination; nor is leadership synonymous with "being the boss." Loyalty in a democracy means capacity to coöperate easily and readily with one's fellows. No "boss" is ever a democratic leader; he is merely a survival from autocratic times. Obedience and leadership, in the democratic sense, are the two sides of the same coin.

Democracy will become aware of old injustices and defects; and it will attempt to secure justice, even though it may have to invent new forms of social expression. Not unintelligently, not violently, will democracy deal with the old defects, but bravely and with true social ingenuity. It will not be so afraid of the past as to doubt the future.

Democracy will eventually mean the development of a social order in which the interests and needs of the individual will be repressed no more than intelligence finds necessary, but in which both needs and interests will be interpreted in terms of the future good, rather than in terms of the folkway past, with its goods and evils all classified and prescribed. The social order must finally rest upon the integrity of the individual. The democrat of the future will be a socialized individual. He will be intelligent with respect to his own community and the world at large. He will be skilled in some occupation that is respected and that can therefore form a solid foundation for his own self-respect. He will be generous and tolerant. He will be sincere in his acceptance of the task of helping to make a social

order in which his neighbors, no less than himself, will find their most complete development.

> Is it a dream?
> Nay, but the lack of it the dream.
> And failing it life's love and wealth a dream,
> And all the world a dream.
>
> WALT WHITMAN

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. To what extent are individuals of your community controlled by old habits? by old customs? by instincts? by reason? Has your community any civic or social or economic programs for the *future?*

ROSS: *Social Control*
MARSHALL: *Readings in Industrial Society*, pages 1064–1082
MAINE: *Ancient Law*
SUMNER: *Folkways*, Chapter I

2. Extend the concept of democracy to all the social institutions: What would "democracy in industry" mean? democracy in religion? democracy in the home? democracy in the school?

TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, see Index under "Democracy"
HART: *Democracy in Education*, Chapters XXXIV–XXXVII
GILMAN: *Women and Economics*
WEBB: *Industrial Democracy*
NEARING: *Social Religion*

3. (*a*) Consider the influence of the "frontier" on the development of democracy: the character of the pioneers, from the Pilgrims of 1620 to the present.

LOWELL: "The Present Crisis," and "A Glance Behind the Curtain," in Collected Poems
JOAQUIN MILLER: "Columbus"
American histories for the "democratic revolt" under Andrew Jackson
HART: "Progress of Science and Fate of Democracy," *School and Society*, March 1, 1919

(*b*) What is the nature of the "frontier" today? Is it geographic? or scientific? That is to say, are there any situations today which call out the same qualities of adventure, hardihood, and individual capacity that were called for on the frontiers of the American nation in our pioneering centuries?

4. Consider the types and distribution of leaderships in your school. Do a few students monopolize all important positions? Why? Are the functions of leadership being satisfactorily performed? Could some plan be worked out whereby leaderships could be more widely and more efficiently distributed? Democracy needs as many leaders as possible. What is being done to find new leaders? to make new opportunities? Could not this class work out a plan for leaderships in which all might have a share?

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

The Development of a National Culture

The word "culture" is sometimes used as if it were synonymous with civilization. Historians speak of the various stages of culture through which the human race has advanced.[1] This conception of culture makes it include all the elements of the life of a period, the tools and other physical equipment, the customs and practices, and the ideals and institutions.

Stages of culture. The cultural history of early man is sometimes described in terms of the characteristic tools and weapons of the various ages. Four such stages have been distinguished:

1. The Old, or Rough, Stone Age
2. The New, or Smooth, Stone Age
3. The Age of Bronze
4. The Age of Iron

This classification is valuable but rather indefinite. Another classification may be made on the basis of the method by which early men secured their food supplies. Four periods are distinguished here, also:

1. The Hunting and Fishing Period
2. The Pastoral or Nomadic Period
3. The Agricultural Period

Leading to

4. The Mercantile and Manufacturing Period

[1] See the introductory chapters to ancient histories.

Another classification is sometimes made as follows:

1. Primitive Levels, a comparatively peaceful stage within which the domestication of crop-plants and animals was effected
2. A Predatory or Barbarous Level, having the beginnings of institutionalized property and private ownership, with a large development of militaristic enterprises
3. The Commercial and Competitive Stage, which continues to the present

Culture and civilization. Culture is generally considered as only a part of civilization, usually the finer and more beautiful part, the intellectual and artistic effect, as contrasted with the material and primitive. This idea of culture has always led to invidious distinctions between social classes in the community; it has set up false contrasts between theory and the practical; and between the intellectual and the instinctive elements in the individual. This conception of culture leads to false interpretations of history, too. The early ages of history were naturally crude. Hence, we think, such periods must have been lacking in culture. But this does not necessarily follow. Culture, if it is to be more than a veneer, can be secured only by direct participation in life; and any sort of life may produce culture of a kind. This is illustrated in the history of culture in America.

American pioneer culture. From one point of view, the pioneer period in American life was a very precarious one. The conditions of living were uncertain in most of the colonies for a long time, and the people were, as a

rule, rather poor. But from another point of view, that pioneer period was one of very definite purpose and of growing certainty. Most of the early settlers who migrated to America had definite backgrounds of religious or political training, and they settled in America mainly for the purpose of developing those backgrounds and perpetuating their ideals. At any rate, this was true of those groups like the Puritans of New England and the Cavaliers of Virginia, which have had the most profound influence upon the development of American life. The various religious or political cultures of those groups have entered into American thought and have given to our culture and tradition such a distinctive coloring that we look with some suspicion upon the ways of the groups that have come to us in more recent times, and especially upon the folk-cultures of Southeastern Europe.

With the development of a permanent community life in America, particularly after the War of the Revolution, the older settlements passed out of the precarious pioneer period into the industrial prosperity that we have known for more than a century. We have tended, in our industrial prosperity, to show a little contempt for the cultural programs of the earlier settlers. The expression " America is another name for Opportunity " has been changed to " America is a good place to make a fortune." One characteristic of the older rural life was that on the average farm the barn was commodious and usually painted, while the house was likely to be small, ugly, and inconvenient. Of course, there has always been in America a general belief in education and the little country schoolhouse has developed everywhere.

The country church has existed also, but the preaching has usually been theological, dealing with problems which often enough have seemed remote from the affairs of the community.

Can democracy produce culture? Doubt is sometimes expressed whether a democratic community can really develop anything that can rightly be called culture. Upholders of the aristocratic traditions have insisted that the culture of a community cannot belong to the generality, but must be the possession of a special class. They hold that if the culture is made the possession of the whole community, it will inevitably degenerate. It is true that the first effect of the pioneer life on people was a considerable deterioration in certain directions. The frontier is a rough teacher, and its pupils must learn its lessons, even if this schooling leaves them no time for other education. Many European travelers and some American students have expressed the belief that there can be no hope for a real culture in America until the men and women of finer mold who are interested in the development of a true culture shall have escaped from the control of majority opinion and have become free to develop their own ideas in their own ways. This doctrine accounts for some of the rather erratic developments of "freedom" found in some of our large cities.

The typical small town and countryside and the city neighborhood lend some support to this view. "Main Street" is the cheerless town, drear, sordid, without beauty or permanent interests. It is found in the big city as well as in the country. We have not yet developed a high sense of community beauty or community

pride. The schoolhouse is defaced by thoughtless children. Public buildings are frequently neglected and allowed to become unattractive. A certain amount of ugliness may be seen around many country farmhouses; at least, untidiness is to be noticed. In small towns and city neighborhoods, a type of vandalism is frequently encountered which seems satisfied with nothing less than the destruction of all property that is not guarded. A visit to almost any picnic ground or public park shows that people generally have not yet learned to value clean, attractive surroundings.

The bases of culture. On the other hand, in America, there is everywhere a growing spirit of responsibility for the preservation of the beauties of nature. National, state, and municipal governments have established parks, playgrounds, and the like. Our great national parks have begun to make people realize that natural beauty is something to be admired and enjoyed. City parks are helping people to see the value of beauty spots. There are some who advocate the idea of parking a whole city; that is, of making it symmetrical and of so beautifying its streets and arranging its buildings that it shall be a place of beauty.[1]

American cultural developments. There are those who hold that, for our time, the great cultural developments have ceased, and our only hope of culture lies in taking on what the past has produced. These insist that we should not think of developing a culture of our own; they point to the literatures and arts of the ancient world or at any rate to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as offering us all we need.

[1] Evans, *Town Improvement.*

They insist that our fragmentary, restless, impulsive American life needs more than anything else contact with these old cultures. They insist that the cure for our superficial thought and feeling is to be found in the profound thoughtfulness and deep, serene emotions of the older literatures and arts. It is true that we do need to test our aspirations and impulses by standards which have endured. But, of course, that should not be taken to mean that we are to have no culture of our own. Every community must be free to experiment and to create new modes of living, new forms of beauty, and new types of culture.

American life has produced nothing so characteristic of itself as the moving picture, both as an industrial development and as a means of entertainment. As a form of entertainment, the pictures at first tended to be sensational and vulgar. This was partly due to a tradition that vulgarity was essential to humor. More recently, the moving picture has shown its possibilities as a presentation of the life of the world as it goes on, with something of ideal and imagination, though it is still not free from the old taints of vulgarity and inanity.

The moving picture, however, can never meet all the requirements of a democratic type of art. It is too passive. Democracy involves expression, the coöperation of all. Eventually we shall have types of art which at various times will include everybody, now as actors and participants, now as spectators. We have, for example, various forms of community theaters, community pageants, community choruses and bands, and the like. The pageant calls into its service more individuals than any other form of expression. It is

democratic also in the sense that it portrays, interprets, and makes meaningful the actual living of ordinary men and women. This is what all community art is continuously struggling to do. It lifts the commonplace circumstances of life into the realm of the heroic; it reveals the motives and aspirations of ordinary people; it relates the present to the past and makes the future seem more worth working for.

The chief riches of a community are the talents and abilities of its members, but in every community there are people who have ability that has never been discovered. Community enterprises afford opportunities for such individuals to find themselves, and for the community to discover their latent talents. This is the richest discovery that any community can make.

If we consider the developments which have already made headway in such fields as community dramatics, music, pageantry, and colorful spectacles of many kinds; the provisions for community play and recreation; the movements toward city and town planning, and the development of characteristic styles of architecture, we can see that the roots of a real community and national culture are growing deep in the life and character of the people. In good time, this may produce a real folk-culture, expressive of the finest instinct of democratic America. This must be, of course, the real source of any permanent culture; it must spring from the life of the people. A culture handed down from above must soon cease to be a true culture. Inevitably it would become a "kultur," with untold possibilities of evil.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. Does modern industrial life and social organization stimulate the arts — poetry, architecture, painting, and the rest — as these were stimulated by the old craft life? Why? What examples can you find in painting and literature of industrial subjects handled artistically? Consult the art and literature departments of your school.

DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapter XIX
SANDBURG: *Smoke and Steel* (a volume of poems of industry)

2. What incidents in the history of your community would furnish good material for a pageant? in the history of America? Has anything of the sort ever been attempted in your community? Is any one in your community interested in the early history of your community? Are any of the pioneers left? Is anything being done to preserve the story of the early days?

MACKAYE: *Patriotic Plays and Pageants*
—— *Plays of the Pioneers*

3. What is the place of the motion pictures in your community? Have they driven out everything else of a recreational character? Are the entertainments provided by them desirable?
4. Have you ever had any plays given by local talent in your community or school? Is there any real opportunity in your community for the development of dramatic talent? Do you ever have community celebrations of national holidays or other occasions?

BURLEIGH: *The Community Theatre*

5. What have you in the way of community music? Do you ever have any popular concerts? Do these consist chiefly of "jazz," or do they include works of a higher type? Do you ever have celebrations, in your community or your school, in which amateur local musicians take part?

SCHAUFFLER: *The Musical Amateur*

6. What is being done in your community in the way of developing a broader form of culture? Have you any artists, writers, musicians, who need help in becoming masters of their work? Has your community room for a real culture, based on broad and deep interests? Who are its leaders? Is there a prejudice against beauty and art in your community?
7. Has your community made any efforts to develop and preserve the folk arts of its immigrants? What is your community doing with its alien groups? What does "Americanization" mean in your community?
8. Is there any tendency in your community to make "Americanism" a hard, intolerant state of mind with reference to newcomers, foreigners, aliens? Which way is your community moving in regard to the assimilation of newcomers?

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

Local Communities and the World

Before social institutions developed in the primitive group life, the group itself was the center of all living. A man's group was his country and the good member of the group was considered patriotic, that is, devoted to his country or *patria*. Such patriotism still exists; it is seen in the loyalties of men and women everywhere to their own local neighborhood group, even in the city, where it is difficult to determine what a neighborhood is. But this kind of patriotism is in danger of fading out in most cities, since as a rule people in the city do not belong to real neighborhood groups. A city family may have friends in various parts of the city and yet not know the people who live in the same apartment house. Our modern cities are conglomerations of people from everywhere. "A great city is a great wilderness," says one writer. If we are to know the city, we must try to see the unorganized and uninstitutionalized elements that are included in the modern industrial community.

The city as a "community." The primitive group was once so small that all its members could know one another. Everybody belonged to it. The term "community" could then be applied both to the people of the group and to the territory which the group occupied. But, in the modern city, this is no longer true. We may know the geographical features of the city and be able to recognize any one of its streets, but we do not know all the people, or even a small part of them. Hence, when we call a large city a "community," when we

speak of it as "my community," we are neglecting a very important consideration: we mean the territory, but we cannot mean the people. It can scarcely be said that we know the city unless we know something about the people as well as about the territory.

We may know the principal lines of industry and business, the form and personnel of the government, the churches of the city, and, in a general way, the schools and other educational institutions. All these are parts of the community; but they are not the whole community. They serve us only piecemeal: the church is for worship; the school is for information; industry is for money; home is a place in which to eat and sleep; the state is "politics." Behind all these are living interests. Between them are all sorts of crevices through which individuals may fall. We must go farther back, if we would know the city. We must get behind all these organized expressions of the city's life and find the elements that are still primitive and unorganized. These will help us to see the city more truly.

The unorganized elements in the city. Business and industry are only partly organized. Endless tag-ends of industry and business exist. Small gardens, small truck patches, small farms linger on the edge of the city. Small stores, small shops, and push-cart enterprises may be found in the back streets. Centers of business where a few struggling stores and shops mark an outlying corner are common. What business centers of this description exist in your community?

Educational institutions of many kinds may be found, such as libraries, public and private, professional and religious; schools of business, art, music, dancing, auto-

mobile driving, and many others. Endless educational opportunities are offered by debating clubs, literary clubs, fraternal orders, forums, councils, and the like. What schools exist in your community?

Among the many provisions for associational recreation, we may mention athletic associations, play groups, tennis clubs with their courts, golf clubs with their courses, country clubs, racing associations, fair associations with their grounds, and the annual tournaments and contests organized by these associations; trap shooting, hunting, and fishing clubs are also to be found in many communities. Name some of the recreational facilities offered by your community.

Pool and billiard parlors, tobacco shops, ice-cream and soda establishments, picnic grounds with their regular schedule of events, especially on Sundays in the summer; skating and hockey rinks, theaters, motion-picture shows, vaudeville, and opera; dance halls, cabarets, all-night cafés, and the like — some or all of these are found in nearly every city.

Most cities have their racial groups and colonies in which alien nationalities congregate — often with neighborhood and racial hatreds and antagonisms, feuds, gangs, " bad men," and sometimes " gunmen," though such conditions are not confined to alien groups.

Every city has examples of one or more of these: vicious resorts, including saloons, " blind pigs," and hold-up headquarters, " fences," opium dens, and back-alley hang-outs.

Even democratic America knows its social stratifications; its good residence districts; its undesirable sections. What makes the latter undesirable? The

immediate surroundings of people are all too frequently beyond their control.

Other problems are found, too; the existence of industrial quarters; of healthful areas and "sickly quarters." The water supplies, drainage, sewerage, transportation, safety zones, and street paving — all these demand attention. Railroad stations have their hangers-on. Public parks and play fields are often places of questionable influence.

Gangs about the city hall, the police station, and the courthouse are real problems. The "invisible government" with its politics and politicians, its graft and grafters, is a real problem. Police protection of vice and crime may make the position of honest officials almost impossible.

The failure of newspapers to give publicity to existing evils, and the policies of partisan papers constitute a serious obstacle to the enlightenment of public opinion. What determines the policies of newspapers and periodicals? What do the various kinds of people read? Have you observed what people read on street cars, for example? Are most of them reading silly magazines, inane stories, advertisements true and false? Who pays for advertising? What amounts are spent for advertising in your own community papers?

So much of the city is unorganized that there are many crevices and gulfs between its stable institutions, and unsuspecting individuals often fall through some crevice or into some gulf and are lost. They become either mechanical puppets or utter failures and wrecks. The city offers endless opportunities both for success and for failure. But, under present conditions, success

and failure are often accidental. Most individuals know so little about themselves, or about the various branches of city activity, that it is only by many shiftings that any particular individual finally finds the particular branch in which his own abilities and interests can be freely developed. To understand the city, in all its aspects and in all its possible influences on the life and destiny of the individual, is a task that may take years. Meanwhile, multitudes who do not understand or suspect the nature of the city's requirements fail in their efforts to adapt themselves to city life. Some escape by finding a quiet niche, a simple job, or a small social group, and becoming careless and indifferent in regard to all social responsibilities. Such individuals save their physical lives at the expense of all social, civic, and intellectual interests.

The development of real community sense. Occasionally, however, we find a resident of the city who seems to live a different sort of life. He seems to know his city, his whole social environment, and himself. He seems to have come up through all the institutions, and not through some one alone. He is interested in politics and civic affairs, and he is not afraid of constructive criticism of all civic and partisan developments. He has real religion. He is a worker. He knows the common life of the community and the main lines of interest in world affairs. He seems to be more than a mere individual or a citizen. He may be spoken of at times as a "leading citizen," though probably he will not accept such a title. The whole community is epitomized in him.

How can such citizens be developed? The result

seems simple, but the process is not. No individual can really *know* a city well enough to become so representative of it. He must *feel* it. He must grow up with it, experience it, saturate himself in it, make it the substance of his life. The majority of men and women can scarcely find real communities in the great cities. They will have friends, but not many neighbors. But an occasional individual builds his own community, even in the city. He has imagination and builds his community by means of his imagination. He takes on the city and its institutions in his imagination. His outlook upon his community is not bounded by the narrow limits of his family and his home. Education does not destroy his native originality or his sympathy. Religion does not make him a mere churchman. To him patriotism does not mean intolerance. He is a "good citizen" in the sense that the policeman need not worry about what he plans to do. Yet he visualizes a bigger civic life and is prepared at times with plans that may include the reformation of the policeman and of the whole city organization. In regard to work he has a real vocation and this fact enables him to earn his living in a positive way; he is the master of his vocation, not its slave. In short, while taking all that the community's institutions can bring to him, he does not permit himself to be subjugated by any one of them. He is well aware of the vast areas of human interest that lie outside the bounds of fixed institutions.

Human longings for a community. The Greeks used to say that the man who could live without a community was either a god or a brute. Behind all institutions, with their particularized outlooks and their fragmentary

services, we want to see life as a whole. We even dream at times of a life freed from all institutional controls. Under such conditions, we should work, of course, but not primarily for money; work would have significance in and of itself for every one. We should have religion, but not merely on Sunday; religion would have significance for the whole of life. We should have a state, of course, but the endless rigmarole of political discussion would be subordinated to the sincere efforts of all the people to make a social order within which all human beings might satisfy their highest desires. We should have education, but it would not be wholly of the academic type, though doubtless there would be schools. Education would be primarily training in action and experience and thoughtfulness in the midst of life itself. We should have homes, but these would be more and more centers within which the varied interests of the community might gather until in good time the community itself should reflect the spirit of the true home.

That is to say, behind all the distinctions and the institutions of our life, we have a deep instinctive longing for a common life, to which we may all belong. This common life should not be monotonous, unchanging, fixed. It should have infinite complexity of expression, giving wide variety of fellowship and many types of stimulation, and a real security based primarily on thoughtfulness about the future. All over America, communities are at present trying in experimental ways to accomplish something of this finer development. In many localities, the schoolhouse is being made the center of community gatherings. Civic forums for the discussion of community problems are being developed.

Community councils have grown up in many places, partly out of the necessities of war time, and partly because far-seeing men and women have realized that our communities need to know themselves better. Community-organization movements of several more or less distinctive types have arisen to establish recreational facilities and to promote the profitable use of leisure time; to develop neighborliness and acquaintanceship among people who live close to each other; and to work out many coöperative plans for the care of the community in times of epidemic, accidents, and privations of every sort, as well as for the enrichment and deepening of the life of the community in every possible way. Out of all the elements of city life, organized and unorganized, we are striving to develop a common life, as varied as the number of individuals, as unified as our common aspirations.

These common longings for a community are having national and international bearings in these days, too. The colonies, at the close of the Revolutionary War, were thirteen separate groups. They formed a "more perfect union," the United States. They had many problems to solve. They had to learn how to live together in the larger community, giving and taking, constructing and reconstructing. Some fourscore years later, they fought a great civil war to determine whether a community of states so organized could really endure. The world is facing, in these days, the old problem in a new form, the problem of organizing that larger community, The United States of the World:

> Where the war drums throb no longer and the battle
> flags are furled
> In the Parliament of Man, the federation of the world.

No nation lives to itself alone. Nations race toward war when they get started in that direction. But they can also move in the other direction when they sincerely try, as the Limitation of Arms Conference of 1921–1922 distinctly showed. However, agreements to limit armament are not enough. The economic causes of war must be discovered, understood, and controlled. Such control would imply the development of new economic programs in international relationships. The World War showed the ruinous effects of ruthless economic competition among nations. International good will is possible, provided we can develop good will at home, with justice in industrial and civic relationships. International neighborliness depends upon the ability of people to achieve neighborliness in local communities. The community and neighborliness must some day extend around the world.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. "A great city is a great wilderness." What can such a statement mean? How do you account for the loneliness of the great city?

WOOD: *The City Wilderness*
ADDAMS: *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*
ELLWOOD: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapter XI
TUFTS: *The Real Business of Living*, Chapters XXIX, XXXI
HOWE: *The Modern City and Its Problems*
ELDRIDGE: *Problems of Community Life*

2. What are the feelings of the people of your acquaintance toward their community? Are they patriotic? complacent? constructive? Is your community self-respecting?
3. Has your community any plans for the future? Has it an industrial program? a business program? an educational

program? a plan for beautifying the community? for eliminating the evils and increasing the good? Does your community know itself?

BYINGTON: *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Community*
HART: *Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities*
Russell Sage Foundation plans for greater New York City

4. What is being done to tie up all the positive interests of your community — industrial, civic, social, educational, religious, recreative, and corrective — to a common program of community welfare?

HART: *Community Organization*
WARD: *The Social Center*
JACKSON: *A Community Center, What It Is, and How to Organize It*

5. What is the attitude of the young people toward your community? Are they dissatisfied? anxious to get away? interested in the future and well-being of the community? After all, are other communities very much better? Has your community exhausted all its resources for work, for social life, for progress? Or are there still large chances for all these things?

CHAPTER THIRTY

The Understanding of Men

In primitive times, groups of varying types made up all there was of society. The individual with personal opinions, tastes, modes of independent action, and attitudes, as we know him today, did not exist and if he had existed, he would not have been accepted by the group. There were individuals, of course, but they simply represented parts of the group, somewhat as sheep or bees represent the flock or the hive.

The basis of individuality. Our instinctive tendencies are rooted in those earliest ages, when life was made up of the struggles of groups to preserve and maintain themselves amidst dangerous natural environments and against hostile tribes. Certain tendencies were very valuable in those struggles. The man who was quick to see and understand danger and to fly from it was most likely to survive the struggles. But the best thing to do at other times was to stay and fight. And so we see in all men, from the earliest days to the present these two conflicting tendencies — the tendency to run away, and the tendency to fight. It is noticeable, too, that these tendencies are usually accompanied by intense emotion: in the one case, the emotion of fear, and, in the other, the emotion of anger. It was once thought that these emotions caused the actions; that, for example, the individual was first afraid and then turned to run. But modern psychologists, studying bodily mechanisms, point out that the individual, upon being confronted by danger, reacts instinctively and

instantly, as when he pulls his hand away from a hot stove; and that it is that swift, unthinking action which stirs up in him a realization of his danger, an emotion of fear.

Types of instinctive tendency. When primitive man approached a strange object in the woods, he was probably on his guard, ready to take flight; but there was another tendency driving him on to investigate — curiosity. We see this tendency most clearly in the small child, who, as we say, "turns into a question mark." Curiosity is invaluable; it must be conserved all through life if new facts are to be discovered and the zest of adventure is to continue.

But when an object is uninteresting and unattractive, it repels us and we try to keep as far away from it as possible. This desire to avoid an unpleasant object and to ignore it then becomes stronger than our curiosity regarding it. For example, one person may have a strong curiosity about snakes; while another person will be so repelled by a snake that nothing could induce him to have anything to do with one.

When the small boy gets hold of a hammer, he wants to make something with it. What he wishes to make is determined largely by the things about which he hears most. Had he lived in a primitive group, he would probably have spent his time making bows and arrows. Moreover, the desire to possess the thing he is making is not entirely responsible for his activity. He is expressing one of the oldest and most valuable and most abused characteristics of the race, the will to make things for the sheer love of the planning and the skill and ingenuity involved. It is evident that the making

of things educates the boy, not only in the use of tools, but in patience, in persistence, in the æsthetic appreciation of balance and proportion, and gives him confidence in his own powers. How important is this tendency in the production of the world's goods?

As the individual grows to maturity he is more or less ready to take his part in the work of society. No matter how difficult the conditions of life may be, no matter how despondent the race may be with regard to its future, humanity still works and cares for a younger generation which shall carry the race forward. Consideration for the necessities of the children makes the older people surround them with safeguards, and these safeguards, by increasing social stability, exert a powerful influence on the moral welfare of the world.

We have also the instinct of acquisition, the desire to own goods and property. The exercise of this instinct tends to develop social responsibility and stability. Pleasure in ownership enhances one's self-esteem; it develops respect for private property. On the other hand, the tendency to accumulate property may be perverted into greed, and may become so exaggerated as to turn its possessor into an inhuman, revolting monster.

Gregariousness, the social instinct. Other instinctive tendencies are gregariousness, self-assertiveness, and self-abasement. From earliest times (see Chapters Two and Three), man has found it to his advantage to endure whatever evils group life produces rather than to attempt to live alone. In prehistoric times, the dangers from wild animals, hostile tribes, unfavorable climatic conditions, and other evils were so great that group life alone kept the race from perishing. One of

the first theories of the origin of society held that man was by nature solitary and that fear had driven him to make a contract with his fellows to live in groups. Rousseau held that for this reason society might be dissolved at any time and each individual might go his own way; and indeed he felt the exercise of that right to be the only cure for the corruption and degradation which he saw in society. A little earlier Hobbes, the English philosopher, insisted that intelligence and not fear had brought men together; and that the social contract had been formed in expectation of the greater advantages to be secured by coöperation. He assumed from this that men had entered into the social contract of their own free will and therefore could not break it without the consent of the king. For example, he reasoned that the Englishmen of Cromwell's day had no right to execute King Charles the First, since they had definitely entered into a contract that he should be their king. Both lines of reasoning seem very weak today. Recent studies of animal life and of the early stages of human life have shown that man has never been a solitary individual. Men have always lived in groups. The gregarious instinct, far from having been developed in the course of human history, is even older than man. It is equally marked in many animal species.

Many centuries ago, Aristotle said that "man is by his very nature an institution-building animal." Men build up social relationships as naturally as bees build combs for their honey. They set up institutions as ants build their homes. They are not forced into society by fear, nor do they agree to be social by contract; they cannot escape society and institutions except

by some perversion of their nature. Hence, the fear that men will destroy institutions is largely a baseless fear. Men may destroy particular institutions at some particular time, but they will immediately begin to build new ones. Only the most strikingly courageous and individualistic man can endure to live outside of institutions. So true is this, that the gregarious instinct controls most people even when the following of some other instinct might be more to their advantage. If curiosity, for example, drives a student into inquiries which society frowns upon, it is likely that he will give up that curiosity rather than sacrifice social standing, upon which depends so large a part of his future personal happiness. This is the real basis of the power of the group, its power to ostracize and destroy the individual. Even if an objectionable act is not criminal, but simply "taboo," the social punishment may be scarcely less serious for the unhappy offender. Snubs and slights, the breakdown of treasured friendships and even of family ties, the threats of unemployment and economic insecurity, are sufficient reasons for curbing individual desires, which, if expressed, bring forth these group punishments. This causes the suppression of many undesirable acts and attitudes. But it also suppresses the originality which might mean progress to society; for social pressure is, for the most part, exerted unintelligently and in the interests of the old and traditional. History is filled with stories of social persecutions of men who made possible great advances in every line of knowledge. If the persecutions they endured had succeeded in keeping those men in customary paths, how great would have been society's loss!

Self-assertiveness and self-abasement are in part individualistic impulses, developed by education, and in part outgrowths of gregariousness and the desire to win the approval of the group. The group approves a leader, if he be not too far beyond their comprehension; and the group approves the individual who will submit unquestioningly.

How the instinct of gregariousness affects the individual. The group educates and molds the individual to its purposes in two general ways: (1) by setting patterns for imitation; and (2) by suggestion. Imitation may be conscious or unconscious. We have, for example, conscious imitation in the matter of fashion, in etiquette, even in choice of vocation. The boy wants to be a lawyer because of his admiration for some successful member of the bar. The girl wants to go into some line of industry because some older girl is "doing fine there." But the unconscious imitations are more subtle and far-reaching. Just as we find ourselves using now and again some characteristic speech or gesture of a friend, so the customs of thought and action in our groups tend to become our customs of thought and action. If it is "good form" to get a certain grade, to study a certain subject, to wear the hair a certain way, to speak of foreigners in certain terms, and to say of politics with an air of wisdom that "there is bound to be graft somewhere," then the individual soon finds himself adopting these acts and attitudes, and attributing them to his own conscious and wise choice rather than to unconscious group imitation.

From such forms of imitation, it is but a step to the still more subtle influence of suggestion. For example,

in a particular social group, the mention of a certain individual made a leader of the group shrug his shoulders. Not a word was said. But an impression was given which, later, led to open disparagement of that individual. But suggestion does not necessarily come from a leader; it may come from any individual, or it may come from the whole group. A public speaker often reorganizes and modifies his speech according to the expression on the faces of the audience. He is scarcely conscious of doing this; if it were a matter of planning, to do it would interrupt his speaking.

One of the commonest means of group suggestion is the use of epithets and slang phrases. Consider the influence during the war of the terms "slacker" and "pacifist." More recently, the words "Bolshevist" and "red" have been given sinister connotations. Such words do not definitely describe the persons to whom they are applied. In this connection, each individual who hears it probably attaches a different meaning to the word "red." What the epithet does convey is the disdain of the group, the feeling that for any one of a number of reasons that individual described as a "red" is under disapproval. The fear of such an epithet suggests very powerfully to the individual that he modify his attitude or his actions in certain respects.

A clever salesman knows how to imply that his customer has a high standard of taste and fine judgment. This is sometimes called flattery; but more often it is an unworded suggestion, a subtle assumption that the buyer is already convinced and therefore does not need to make up his mind.

Emotions and sentiments. We possess emotional characteristics and sentiments as well as instincts. Among these are love, hate, anger, fear. One of the most important, socially, is sympathy. Sympathy implies an ability to share in the emotional quality of another person's experience, and it makes possible the highest types of understanding and helpfulness. We are able to appreciate to a very limited degree the ideas and experiences of the people with whom we live. When the sentiment of sympathy is active, we make the closest approach to such appreciation. Sympathy is more than pity. It is an actual sharing of the feelings of another.

Play. At one time, the desire to play was considered a separate instinct. But play is a characteristic of the young of most animals. In play, those native tendencies which are to operate in adult life get their first chance to try themselves out. Hence, play is not so much an instinct in itself as an expression of our instinctive tendencies. A child spends most of his time in play. He thereby achieves a normal method of expressing his native powers and he experiences the beginnings of that discipline which will enable him to grow into a normal adult. Gregariousness, for example, develops by three important stages of play. In the first stage, children like to be together, but each child plays separately. In the second stage, that of group play, many children play together, usually in two opposing groups, and each individual is supposed to exert himself to the utmost, for the victory depends upon the sum of the efforts of the individuals on the winning " side." The third is the team stage, wherein a limited number

of individuals are organized into a team. A marked characteristic of team play is the subordination of the individual. The victory does not depend upon the mere sum of physical efforts, but is achieved by strategy and an organized plan of campaign. Team play is the highest type of play. But it is based on the two lower types; and as a social activity it will never be complete until we learn how to think of the team as the world.

Play offers the adult an opportunity to exercise powers which are not used in the routine of his work. His demand for self-assertion, or for fellowship with a "jolly good crowd," may be unrealizable in the course of the day's work. But after the day's work is over, he may find satisfaction for these demands of the spirit by joining in games of golf or tennis or bowling. Play heightens physical vigor and gives us the enjoyment of swift instinctive action and strong emotional responses.

Work. When we play, we experience certain feelings that are as old as the race. Our natures are quickened. There is a normal release of pent-up energies. There is joy and a sense of support in belonging to a play group or to a team. There is pleasure in making sacrifices for the good of the team. In a strongly contested football game, many of the ancient thrills of the battle and the chase are felt by the players, and so real is the contest that even the watchers on the sidelines feel the thrills of victory and the tremors of defeat.

For some persons work retains these same satisfactions. The scientist who explores unknown fields of knowledge, the doctor who works out unsolved problems of health and disease, the artist who paints a picture — all these and many others find their work so interesting

that they regard it in part as a form of play. When the business man takes his business as a "game," he, too, escapes from drudgery.

But for the man who works at a machine, the chance for an escape from drudgery is very remote. A machine is a serious thing. It has no sense of humor, no understanding, no mercy. If the worker slips his fingers into it at the wrong time, the machine never hesitates. Workingmen were formerly slaves to human masters. They were serfs once, bound to the land. Now, they are bound by modern industry to the wheels of complicated machines.

Men attempt to escape the machine in various ways: by shorter working days; by frequent holidays; by changes of occupation. Men are not lazy; but human nature cannot stand the everlasting drive of the machine. Men quit work; they strike; but who shall say that they ought to keep on forever as mere slaves of the wheel?

All men need to be released from incessant drudgery and to be permitted a chance to do some kind of work that will call their highest faculties into play. Work that releases creative interest and energy is one of the chief joys of life. Work that engages men in social enterprises is a great social good. Work feeds and clothes and houses the world; work well done gives to the worker a fine human character. All men need the discipline of labor. At present, the work of the world has too much dirt and drudgery in it. Once slaves or women were condemned to the drudgery and the dirt, while free men did the joyful, interesting things. Now, all individuals claim the right to have a share in the

interesting work; or claim at least a chance to make the necessary work as interesting as possible. Here is the meaning of much of the "labor unrest" of the world today. Shall we say that society has the right to condemn any set of men to endless, uninteresting drudgery, or shall we say that society should give every man the kind of work that will enable him to become a strong, contented man and a good and faithful citizen?

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What changes take place in people when they become members of a crowd or mob? Describe the experience as you have known it. What is meant by "suggestion"? Is membership in a mob desirable? membership in a crowd? in a group? in more than one group?

DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapter IX
LE BON: *The Crowd*
DAVENPORT: *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, Chapter I
SIDIS: *The Psychology of Suggestion*
BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology*, Chapter XIII

2. Consider the "power of fashion and imitation." Who determines the copies that are imitated? What are the laws of imitation? Why do women follow the styles? Do men ever follow styles? Is it better to be dead than out of style?

BOGARDUS: *Introduction to Sociology*, pages 266–268
ROSS: *Social Control*, Chapters XIII–XV

3. What are the elements that make a successful leader? in school life? in industry? in war? in politics? Consider Lincoln, General Grant, J. P. Morgan, the captain of the football team. Can any one make up his mind to be a leader? What openings for leadership exist in your community? in your school?

4. What are the games most used by children in your community: (*a*) by children under seven years of age; (*b*) from seven to twelve; (*c*) above fourteen? To what extent do these games conform to the types discussed in the paragraph on play? Have any new games come into use lately?

CURTIS: *Education Through Play*
BANCROFT: *Games for the Home, School, and Gymnasium*
LEE: *Play and Education*
DEALEY: *Sociology, Its Development and Applications*, Chapters IX, XXI
TROTTER: *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*
BOGARDUS: *Social Psychology*
ROSS: *Social Psychology*

5. What is the attitude of your community toward work? Toward the "demands of labor"? Is your community intelligent in regard to the problems of labor? That is, do the citizens of your community try to understand them? Or do they merely praise or condemn on traditional and partisan grounds?

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

Some Social Problems of the Future

The world is not finished. The tasks are not all accomplished. Democracy is still largely in and of the future. Human nature is still incomplete. Human society is still imperfect. The future is a challenge to every inquiring mind and to every adventurous spirit.

The future is compact of problems. There is still room for pioneers. The world needs workers, inventors, explorers, scientists, leaders, teachers — men and women of courage who have faith in the greater possibilities of life. In this chapter, the student will find an outline for the study of some of the important problems of the future; in the next and final chapter, a discussion of some of the great social movements that are in process at the present time.

The higher standards of living. The world, as a whole, is only partially fed and clothed and housed today. Foods, clothing, and the other material aids to a life of well-being are not adequately distributed.

What are the elements in the present accepted standards of living? In what respects are those standards inadequate? Could the earth support higher standards of living?

Freeman and Chandler: *The World's Commercial Products*
Smith: *The World's Food Resources*
Lessons in Community and National Life, United States Bureau of Education, 1918
Publications of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics

The more just distribution of wealth. Democracy moves ever toward a more equitable distribution of the

greater goods of life. Political freedom was a great gain, but political freedom is not the final form of freedom. Economic freedom is still to be achieved. Such achievement will not mean freedom from work. It will mean freedom to work under conditions which the workers will help to control. Under present conditions millions are frequently unemployed. Millions are in poverty. There is potential wealth enough in the world to give all a decent living. The future will learn how to create the wealth needed and how to make sure that all shall have the wealth they can use to advantage.

WARD: *The Labor Movement*

Transportation. The world's industries as well as its peoples are becoming more and more specialized. Nowadays very few communities live entirely upon the products of their own industry. They raise or make one or more commodities and depend upon trade and transportation to supply them with other commodities. Transportation thus becomes one of the world's real needs. It ceases to be a private interest. Railroads, steamship lines, and other means of transport hold the health and safety of the world in their keeping.

How are they fulfilling their trust? What needs to be done to make every corner of the earth safe from famine when local crops fail?

GREGORY, KELLER, AND BISHOP: *Physical and Commercial Geography*

Communication. Once it took six weeks to carry a message across the Atlantic. Now a message can go round the earth in less than an hour. Once books were so scarce and so precious that copies were chained to

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 42. Mail sled at Nome, Alaska. Compare this outfit with the one shown on the next page.

desks in reading rooms. Efficient communication has conquered time and space.

Are the messages communicated worth sending? Are newspapers worth reading? Has the development of ever more efficient means of communication been of increasing benefit to the race?

CLODD: *The Story of the Alphabet*
TOWERS: *Masters of Space*

Protection and conservation. The wastes of the world are appalling, as we have seen. Fire, disease, crime — these are terrible instruments of destruction. We are allowing our forests to be destroyed by fires; our minerals and metals by carelessness; our soils by preventable erosion. The earth is not inexhaustible. By taking thought, some of the wealth of the world

can be saved from waste for the use of coming generations.

Have we any responsibility in such matters? What is your community doing to protect itself against epidemics? against the development of criminals? against the wastes of fire?

United States Bureau of Education: *Lessons in Community and National Life*

Community organization. As we have seen, men originally lived in groups. But America, especially that part of America west of the Allegheny Mountains, was explored and settled almost wholly by pioneering individuals. Farm life in America has hitherto been an isolated life. Our cities suffer because of this farm-bred individualism. America is trying to learn how to live in cities, and how to extend the benefits of the large-scale

Ewing Galloway

FIG. 43. Mail airplane and quick-delivery truck on landing field at Cleveland, Ohio. Can humanity make corresponding progress in other lines in the near future?

organization of industry to its farms. For this the community spirit is needed — coöperation in industry, in production, and in distribution; coöperation in social efforts of all kinds — political, moral, educational, religious. How are we to develop this community spirit and make it a beneficent force in the life of America?

HART: *Community Organization*
HOWE: *Denmark, A Coöperative Commonwealth*

Education and recreation. Human nature is not yet fully known and understood. Lincoln was a common man until he was fifty-one years old. He died at fifty-six. Did he cease to be a common man in those last five years of his life? Or did he reveal the uncommonness that may exist in every one of us? The race needs education in regard to its latent greatness. Greatness cannot be achieved by accident, however. It requires study, self-discipline, and hard work. Such hard work needs to be relieved by periods of recreation; not merely the recreation that comes of watching others play, but real participation in the fun of life.

Is your community being educated in regard to these matters? Is the recreation of your community the kind that makes life and work happier, or the reverse?

DUNN: *The Community and the Citizen*

Beauty. American industry has not been noted for its attention to beauty. American pioneers destroyed much natural beauty; but they were hard pressed to make a living and they paid little attention to the cultivation of the graces. Many American mining and manufacturing towns are hideously ugly, sordid, mean. Here and there, however, some thought for beauty is

breaking through. What efforts are being made to beautify your community? to preserve natural beauties of landscape? to produce a beautiful city? What is the condition of your streets? the alleys? vacant lots? Is any group in your community interested in these problems?

ROBINSON: *Modern Civic Art*
Publications of Community Service, Inc., 1 Madison Avenue, New York City

Government. Government was once superior to the people. Now it is rapidly becoming the expression of the will and purpose of the people. Wherever the processes of government are brought into the open, the people control those processes through public opinion. The only way government can escape such control is by keeping its processes secret. In some places, secret government controlled by "invisible forces" still exists. Such invisible government cannot long endure publicity.

What sort of government has your community? Have you anything of the old "invisible government"? What civic programs are being developed in your community? Do these programs attract young men and women to civic service? What governmental problems has your community?

TUFTS: *Our Democracy*
BURCH AND PATTERSON: *American Social Problems*

Provincialism and the international mind. America was once a "new world." Then it became part of the "western hemisphere": that is to say, it became part of the world. Later, it fought to free itself from the control of the "old world," and it set up as a free and in-

dependent nation. In those days, the telegraph and the wireless did not exist, and it took probably six weeks, at least, for a vessel to cross the Atlantic. Isolation was possible under those conditions. Now, however, the world moves on toward a commonalty of life: communication, transportation, information, sympathy, understanding — all these tend to become world-wide. It is difficult for any one longer to remain provincial in mind. We tend to become citizens of the world, whether we will or no. We travel; we read; we give our wealth for the needs of distant lands.

This does not mean that we shall cease to be Americans. It means that America is now a part of the world and that Americans are bound by relationships of many sorts to the people of all the world. Like the oak trees of the Eastern states, like the great firs and redwoods of the West, our lives are rooted in the soil of America, but our heads are rising above the ground to share in the winds that blow over all lands and across all seas.

PROBLEMS FOR STUDY

1. What problems not suggested here does your community or state present in the way of challenge to the interest, the study, or the efforts of its intelligent citizens?
2. What social or civic interests have been developed by members of the class to date, and how are these interests related to the problems of the community? to the social movements discussed in the following chapter?

CHAPTER THIRTY–TWO

Modern Social Movements

The present is always made up of interwoven social relationships, social habits, customs, and attitudes inherited from the past, together with many hopes, problems, and programs for the future. The conflicting experiences of individuals and groups and the clashes between present unsatisfactory conditions, and future hopes produce endless criticisms of existing conditions and bring about slow changes in the rigid arrangement that the past has given to our living. Modern society is, therefore, largely a fluid, not a fixed, order of conditions. History is in the making. New problems are constantly arising. New problems require new solutions. Changes in one direction make changes in other directions necessary, in order that the balance may be maintained. This is seen in the social effects of the Industrial Revolution; and it is being seen, even today, in the effects of the World War upon social, industrial, and political conditions all over the world.

But if our dissatisfaction with the past is to do more than make us pessimists and cynics, we must find outlets for it in positive programs designed to bring about better conditions in the future. It is the chief advantage and distinction of man that he can live the present in the light of the future, molding his living in conformity with his hopes and his ideals.

Varied social programs. But as no two individuals have the same temperament or the same sum of experiences, so no two individuals have exactly the same dis-

satisfactions or the same programs for reform. It will be well, therefore, for us to take note of some of the social programs which are now being advocated for the reorganization of our social world. Many of these programs agree in some details, and disagree in others. Many of them deal with unrelated issues, and hence neither agree nor disagree. No program is a final panacea. Each is worthy of study for the contribution it may make to social progress.

In their statements concerning the aims of society, practically all parties agree. All insist that they want human welfare and consistent progress. But this agreement ends with the statement. Disagreement begins as soon as men try to define what they mean by welfare and progress. Each group in the community has its own interpretation of reform and progress. To some, welfare means physical security, plenty of food, shelter, and clothing for all. To others, it means enough of these goods to protect life, but no such abundance of them for the common run of men as to cause the workers to give up working. To others, it means moral and spiritual goods, knowledge, beauty, religion, in addition to these physical goods, at least for the upper classes. And there are numberless variations upon these themes. These beliefs become the social ideals of various groups and individuals. Around each of them, parties are likely to gather — political, economic, social, religious, educational, or the like. And each of these parties devotes much time and energy to its program, its plan for the accomplishment of its aims.

Classification of social movements. Any arbitrary classification of these social movements may hinder

rather than help our understanding of them. Still, we must try to find a trail through the wilderness. Hence, we may divide them as follows into three general groups:

(1) Movements and programs which undertake social improvement primarily through changes in the economic organization of society.

(2) Movements and programs which aim directly at the reorganization of social institutions, customs, and standards.

(3) Movements and programs that seek to promote welfare and progress by means of international readjustments.

The student must understand that any one of these three types necessarily affects the other two types. The prime difference is in their approach to these problems. Thus, labor programs or socialist programs, while they obviously belong under the first heading, involve new social standards and new international adjustments, but they aim at these various ends primarily through national economic readjustments.

(1) ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

Under this grouping we find a bewildering array of proposals including (*a*) the various labor programs; (*b*) programs of scientific management; (*c*) taxation programs, such as the single tax and the excess-profits tax reforms; (*d*) agricultural reform programs of such bodies as the Nonpartisan League; (*e*) various coöperative programs; (*f*) various plans for a socialistic commonwealth. Each of these programs is sponsored by particular movements. Each movement is

struggling with some phase of the problem of welfare and progress. And, by its knowledge or its ignorance, it is adding to or subtracting from the total of human progress in reference to that particular phase of the problem. We shall do well to consider certain of these movements briefly.

Trade unions. The bulwark of the labor movement in America for more than a third of a century has been the American Federation of Labor. Originally, it was organized strictly on craft lines. Each local craft has its own separate local organization which is affiliated with all other unions of the same craft in a national or international union. Thus, in any large manufacturing concern employing many types of mechanics, each craft has its own organization, with little relationship to the other crafts or local organizations that may exist in the same shop. To be sure, in recent decades, the various local unions of any city or any important industrial community have usually organized a federation of all the labor forces into a " central labor council," with a full array of officials and committees, and, usually, some central meeting place, a labor temple. These organizations have been made up almost entirely of skilled workers. The American Federation of Labor has not, until very recently, manifested much interest in the casual and the unskilled laborer. This is natural enough. In the Federation's early years, the struggle for the right to organize and to secure the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining in order to obtain more endurable working conditions, held the center of the stage. Skilled men made better fighters in this cause than the unskilled. In fact, unskilled men could scarcely

be counted upon at all. Hence, early labor organization centered about the skilled trades. Now, although the fight for the right to organize is still far from finished, the American Federation of Labor has begun to manifest some interest in the unskilled worker and certain unions for unskilled workers have been set up.

Meanwhile, however, various types of antagonism have developed within or around the American Federation of Labor. For example, in various parts of the country, the demand for "one big union" has almost overshadowed the older forms of organization. This demand calls for an organization of all the workers in any shop or manufacturing plant into one single working union, eliminating all the narrower organizations along craft lines and taking in both skilled and unskilled labor. The economic strength of such an organization would be very great, of course. Hence, all programs which might be looked upon as friendly to the idea are usually fought by the employers. There is some fear, too, that a union of this type could make itself powerful in politics. By securing control of the industries and the political machinery of a community, it would be in a position to destroy the established industrial order. Therefore, any tendencies in the direction of the one big union are usually called revolutionary, and their advocates condemned as "bolshevistic." The so-called "general strike" is indorsed by the advocates of the one big union as a legitimate weapon. This whole question is still rather obscure and surrounded with all sorts of assertions and protests, not all of which can be true. The student will find a study of the Seattle general strike in 1919 helpful in clearing up the issues involved. But

the whole subject needs study and investigation; more light and less heat.[1]

Labor developments during the war. The tendency toward organization by industrial unions as opposed to organization by crafts brought about some interesting developments during the World War, especially in England. The new development in the shop-steward movement during the war is an illustration. Shop stewards had long been known. They were simply representative men in a shop or factory. But under war-time conditions they became agents for the presentation of the demands of all the laborers in that particular shop, acting with a common understanding, frequently in advance of, and often in open defiance of, the regulations of the established trade unions in their particular lines of work.[2]

A much more centralized and deliberate movement toward organization on industrial lines has come out of these English developments. The so-called Whitley Councils are the proposals of a parliamentary commission worked out as the result of governmental investigations of the conditions in English industry since 1915. These councils aim to maintain morale and production

[1] Marot: *American Labor Unions*
Bloomfield, Daniel: *Problems of Labor* (readings)
Ely: *The Labor Movement in America*
Cole: *The World of Labor*
Ward: *The Labor Movement*
Webb: *Industrial Democracy*
Budish and Soule: *New Unionism in the Clothing Industry*
Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor conventions, and articles in the *American Federationist*
Reports on "Union Scales of Wages and Hours," Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

[2] Bloomfield: *Modern Industrial Movements*, pages 87–115.

in a given factory or plant by turning over the regulation of all working conditions to a group made up of managers and union representatives who meet regularly for conference on the progress of the industry. These shop committees are making considerable headway in promoting understanding and efficiency.[1] But nowadays industrial changes are coming with such rapidity that no book can keep up with them. Students must follow these developments in magazines.

Labor solidarity. The movement for one big industrial union of all the workers in a given industry is closely identified in public opinion with theories of a "class revolution," in which the workers are to "take over the government"; and with various forms of "direct industrial action," including the paralysis of industry by means ranging all the way from some more or less irritating form of sabotage to the general strike; that is, the cessation of all labor in a given city, or state, or other determined area. We noted this above. Attention is called to it again merely to emphasize the point of this paragraph. Labor leaders in many parts of the world are working to develop what is called the "solidarity of labor." By this is usually meant the doctrine that workers in all lands have interests in common, for the promotion of which they should be organized on industrial lines that reach beyond all national boundaries into every corner of the world where such an industry exists. Hence, "labor solidarity" is international in scope. This means that it is sometimes lacking in what is locally called patriotism. The student may easily

[1] Bloomfield: *Modern Industrial Movements*, pages 169–243; see also current numbers of *The Survey*.

understand that such developments are very obnoxious to people who are primarily interested in individual profit, or local aggrandizement, or the welfare of some local group or union, or the prestige of the nation. Here are vast problems which the leaders of the future must understand and help to solve.[1] The significance of these problems was recognized by the statesmen of the world when they incorporated provision for an International Labor Bureau in the Treaty of Versailles.

Scientific management. Employers and managers are also working at plans for putting industry on a less disputable and uncertain basis. One such plan calls for general agreements as to what should constitute a minimum day's output for any one workman under fixed conditions and using a given equipment. Such a day's work would serve as the basis of fixing wages. Each worker could be held to at least this minimum, with bonuses and a share in the profits for achievements above the minimum. Such plans include also a well-organized employment department, whose business it would be to hire and " follow up " the workers, making sure that each worker is advantageously placed in the industry, and seeing to it that no worker is dropped without good cause. Certain parts of this plan make for efficiency of a mechanical sort; but, on the whole, it has been objected to by the labor unions as a scheme for " speeding up " the worker, without giving him a fair share of the results of increasing production. The

[1] Consult *Reader's Guide* under "Syndicalism," "I. W. W.," "One Big Union," etc. Also Savage, M. D.: *Industrial Unionism in America*, The Ronald Press, 1922.

whole subject of " scientific management " is still under discussion.[1]

Taxation programs. Various forms of income and excess-profits taxes were developed during the World War. They have been much discussed both favorably and unfavorably. Income taxes are, of course, here to stay, in some form. The chief arguments against such taxes are that their levy and collection involve very complicated machinery, and that they make room for unfair practices of many kinds. A discussion of these problems may be found in recent textbooks on economics.

The " single-tax " program claims to be a program of social as well as economic reform. Advocates of the single tax claim that the evils of modern monopolistic and capitalistic industry grow out of monopoly control of land by private owners, who use the land, not for productive purposes, but for speculation, creating a large landless and helpless class in the community thereby. Objections to the single-tax program come from opposite sides: from the taxation official who objects to the difficulties that will arise in making it work and to the chance that it will not provide sufficient revenues; from the defender of the rights of private property, who fears that the single tax will turn out to be a means of confiscating his holdings; and, on the other hand, from the socialist, who, although he endorses the single tax in theory, objects to it as a program in itself, because

[1] Bloomfield, Daniel: *Modern Industrial Movements*, pages 115–169. Bloomfield, Meyer: *Management and Men.* Taylor: *Principles of Scientific Management.* See also files of engineering and industrial journals.

he feels that it is but a halfway measure, which will delay real reforms.[1]

The Nonpartisan League and similar movements. Within the last few years, among the farmers of the Northwest, notably in North Dakota, a definite struggle has been made to enable the producer to escape from the "middle man," or distributor, and from the financial control of the bankers of the city. The producers are endeavoring to market their own products, and they hope to make the state the instrument of this movement. That is, they have asked the state to take over control of grain elevators, insurance on crops, and finance. The farmers have organized on lines of economic self-interest; they have sought to secure control of the machinery of the state for use in these ways, and they have been more or less successful in their program of building state elevators, flouring mills, and the like. The original Nonpartisan League did not live more than seven or eight years; but similar movements continue to develop.[2]

Similar movements have been attempted at times by labor groups; and, in 1920, a group of farmers and a group of laborers attempted to unite in a political "Farmer-Labor Party." American political thinking proved too traditional for this to succeed, however. The movement has had several setbacks. The future alone can tell what will come of it.

Coöperative movements in Europe and America. "Profiteering" is one of the grave charges against pri-

[1] Bullock: *Selected Articles on the Single Tax.* Fillebrown: *The A. B. C. of Taxation.* George: *Progress and Poverty.*

[2] Gaston: *The Nonpartisan League.* See also references in the *Reader's Guide.*

vate business as conducted today. It is claimed that, under the profit system, if a broker owns two carloads of fruit and can make more money by selling one of them than by selling the two, he will destroy one and market the other. If profit is the essential and proper aim of all business, it is difficult to see what objection can be made to this procedure. Of course, the community suffers by the destruction of part of its food supplies. But the community would probably rather suffer in this way than change its mode of handling its food supplies. There are persons who assert that the only escape from such methods and such violations of the public welfare is through the organization of consumers' coöperative associations. Among coöperative associations, the English "Rochdale Movement," which was started in 1843, has had a phenomenal growth. Its future in England and in countries on the European continent is assured; and the movement is making headway in the United States.[1]

Socialist movements. The various forms of socialism have been much discussed and much misunderstood. "Socialism" has become a blanket term covering many separate doctrines, some of which are not at all socialistic. All the genuine forms of socialism agree in one point, at least; namely, that the means of production should be owned by some "common," or "public," or "social" organization, and not by private interests. The more important forms of socialism are as follows:

(1) *State Socialism.* This calls for the extension of

[1] Sonnichsen: *Consumers' Coöperation.* Webb: *The Coöperative Movement in Great Britain.* Woolf: *Coöperation in Industry.* Publications of the Coöperative League of America, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

our present programs of municipal and state ownership of utilities of many sorts until all the larger and more important productive activities of the community are owned and operated by the government. So many forms of work are now performed by governmental agencies that it is difficult to determine at present when the municipality or the state ceases to be "businesslike" and becomes "socialistic." [1]

(2) *Guild Socialism.* Distinguished from state socialism is guild socialism. The principles of guild socialism have been set forth by one of the leading exponents of the movement as follows:

> The proper sphere of the industrial organization is the control of production and of the producer's side of exchange: its function is industrial in the widest sense. . . . It has no claim to decide "political" questions: for its right rests upon the fact that it stands for the producer, and that the producers ought to exercise direct control over the production.
>
> The proper sphere of the state in relation to industry is the expression of those common needs and desires which belong to men as consumers. . . . It has no claim to decide producers' questions or to exercise direct control over production . . . the consumers ought to control the division of the national product, or the division of the income in the community.[2]

The "Plumb Plan" for the management of the railroads is an American adaptation of the guild principle. Under the Plumb Plan, three groups are included in the management: the workers, the managers, and the gov-

[1] Walling and Laidler: *State Socialism, Pro and Con.*

[2] Cole, G. D. H.: *Self-Government in Industry,* page 106. Also Hobson, S. G.: *Guild Principles in War and Peace.*

ernment. Under strict guild organization, the state would not appear; its influence would be exerted from another angle.

(3) "*Marxian*" *Socialism.* A more theoretical development of socialistic programs is presented in the works of Karl Marx. According to Marx, society consists of two classes, workers and drones, or the exploited and the exploiters. Between these two classes there can be nothing in common. The one class, the drones and exploiters, own everything, but produce nothing. The other class, the workers, own nothing, but produce everything. Hence, according to this doctrine, their relationships must be those of endless hostility. This is the famous Marxian "class struggle," which is to end with the triumph of the workers and the elimination of the drones. The definitions of Marxianism vary widely from time to time and from land to land.[1] On the whole, the theory is surrounded by contradictions. It is difficult to see how social progress can come from an endless class struggle.

Social democracy. Social democracy looks for a state that shall be free from all forms of class domination; in which all individuals shall be free and generally equal in their economic power as well as in their political status. In such a social order, "There is to be no economic exploitation of one class by another, but a complete community of opportunity. This calls for a complete readjustment of our economic system, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the substitution of collective ownership and control; that

[1] Untermann: *Marxian Economics.* Bloomfield, Daniel: *Modern Industrial Movements,* pages 243–313.

is, a control by *all the people*, not by the *state* nor by the *workers*." [1]

Methods of socialism. The practical programs of the socialists depend upon their theories. Their methods range all the way from the educational plans of the social democrats through various forms of economic action, such as " sabotage " and the " strike on the job," to the methods of revolutionary violence. But the groups advocating violence are comparatively small.

(II) PROGRAMS AIMING AT NEW SOCIAL STANDARDS AND CUSTOMS

When we come to the second type of social movement noted above, we find a number of unfinished tasks which await the citizen and the social worker. We know that many of our social institutions are still controlled by old types of standards and customs dating from uncertain periods of history. Most of these old customs and institutions have served humanity after the fashion of the past; that is to say, they have served the privileged classes of humanity. None the less, most of them are capable of real and needed services to humanity, if only they can be reconstructed to meet the changed conditions of living and the ideals of democracy. Democracy will seek continuously to improve and reorganize these old standards and institutions and to make them fit the uses of these new days. We are seeing how the old political institutions of Europe are being made over since the World War, to make them fit the needs of this new day. But all our institutions, customs, and attitudes

[1] Spargo: *Social Democracy Explained.* Cross: *Essentials of Socialism.* Ward: *The Labor Movement.*

need to be subjected to study so that we may see whether they need re-making or not.

Some of the more interesting of these reconstructive movements are those dealing with housing, and health and various forms of social insurance. Each of these problems is particularly insistent today, and many volumes have been written about each of them. The student is referred to the literature for fuller treatment of the subject.[1] Many of these problems have become so important as to engage the attention of national governments. Housing and city planning have become matters of rigorous investigation and brilliant planning. Other problems have been given an important position in political programs. The British Labor Party has paid particular attention to social insurance and the responsibility of the community for the welfare of the people.

Charity and philanthropy. Here we enter upon the field of what has usually been called "social work." This term is, however, constantly broadening to include many other aspects of community endeavor. For example, at the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work (formerly called the National Conference of Charities and Correction), a wide range of subjects is discussed: problems of childhood, with questions of education, delinquency, defective mentality, dependency, and the like; many problems such as those of health, the family, marriage and divorce, and the like; and those far-reaching economic and industrial problems

[1] Allen: *Civics and Health.* Eastman: *Work, Accidents and the Law.* Nolen: *City Planning.* Rubinow: *Standards of Health Insurance; Social Insurance.* Whitaker: *The Housing Problem in Peace and War.* Wood: *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner.*

which we have already considered. That is to say, the field of social work is just as wide as any individual or group wishes to make it. Recently, problems of mental and social hygiene, the organization of the local community, and the problems of "Americanization" have largely occupied the attention of social workers.[1]

Child welfare. No child is properly or rightly the object of charity, except under those conditions of natural calamity when, for a little while, no other help may be near. Many children are, however, objects of charity today; but that is evidence of the failure of our civilization. Children have a right to all the opportunities and surroundings necessary to the fullest development of life. Some day our society will understand this fact, and provide for it. This will not be pauperizing our children. No little child is either poor or rich: each, whether a millionaire baby or a child of the tenements, is dependent upon older people or institutions for all it has. Hence, the community will do well to provide for all children, in order to make sure that none shall die through neglect and that the community shall not lose a positive and constructive member.[2]

Criminology. It is but a step from the neglected child of the streets to the delinquent child, and then, to the adult criminal. Not all neglected children turn out to be criminals; nor were all criminals neglected in childhood. The whole field of criminality, including juvenile and adult criminals of both sexes, is being very

[1] Devine: *Social Work. The Survey.* Reports of the National Conference of Social Work.

[2] Mangold: *Problems of Child Welfare.* Reports of the National Consumers' League, New York City, and the National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

thoroughly studied today. Several associations are at work in this field, including the National Prison Association, and associations for the study of juvenile offenders. Courses in criminology are given in departments of sociology in most universities.[1]

Americanization. Many interesting stories of the meaning of America to immigrants have been written. Among the best of these, we may mention *The Promised Land*, by Mary Antin, *Making of an American*, by Jacob Riis, and *A Schoolmaster in the Great City*, by Angelo Patri. These books give the very human sides of life in America as they reveal themselves to the man and the woman born in Europe. Other interesting aspects of this human side of the question are given in Professor Edwin A. Steiner's *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, and in other books in the same vein. More analytic treatments of the problem of helping to make Americans out of the immigrants are given by Jane Addams, in her *Newer Ideals of Peace*, and by Frank V. Thompson, in *The Schooling of the Immigrant*. Just now, America is troubled by the question of what Americanization truly means. Does it mean making the immigrant over until he is just like the original Anglo-Saxon American? Does it mean making the older American over until he is like the immigrant? Does it mean some adjustment between all the elements until out of all the various racial and national groups in America the ultimate American will appear? The whole problem of the relationships of nationalities and races, whether within America, or in the world at large, will claim the attention of men and women more and more insistently in the coming

[1] Parmalee: *Criminology*. Osborne: *Society and Prisons*.

years. The World War developed the doctrine of the "self-determination of peoples," and many so-called "small nations" have since been trying to make their voices heard in the councils of the world. Americanization ought never to mean any narrow, or provincial, movement, but a broad and noble human realization of the best possible life on these shores.

The reorganization of education. Before the World War, America was threatened with an educational development largely molded on the German plan; that is to say, an education which divides the community into workers and leaders, and gives to the former the training that will fit them for subordinate positions, while giving to the latter the opportunity to develop all those larger human traits which are supposed to be necessary to the leader and the man of liberal culture. But that movement was fought by the most far-seeing educators before the war; and the war itself made such a movement impossible in America for a long time to come. We do still need, however, here in America, a much more fundamental education for the actual life and uses of democracy, and for the work of the community.[1]

This new type of education must be more closely connected with industry and the whole world of occupations. All normal boys and girls have the instinct of workmanship, in some form, and education must be reconstructed so as to make room for the development of this fundamental instinct. Connected with the normal development of this instinct are all the varied developments of the knowledge and experience of the world.

[1] Cooley: *Vocational Education in Europe.* Lewis: *Democracy's High School.* Marot: *Creative Impulse in Industry.*

Such vocational developments of education will make knowledge more real, work more intelligent, industry more democratic, and the worker a more effective, patriotic, and capable citizen. More than this, it will tend to destroy the old doctrine that education is finished in childhood. Education goes on as long as life lasts.

The freedom of women. Democracy inevitably meant and means the complete freedom of women from all old bondages that are purely traditional and customary. There is no escape from this development, save in some retreat into medievalism, or ignorance, or irrational prejudice. Freedom of women means the endowment of women with all the opportunities, the privileges, and the responsibilities that men enjoy or may hope to enjoy. But such a condition comes not by edict, nor by the adoption of amendments to the Constitution, though such moves are necessary. These but give the chances for freedom. Securing the suffrage was a step toward freedom; it is not freedom itself. One of the tasks that now confront all women is the task of making secure for themselves positions of social respect based upon strong personal self-respect. When women are "equal with men," they will no longer find it necessary to retain the characteristics exhibited in the days when it was ladylike to be weak and dependent.

The various movements of our times by means of which women are winning the right to be recognized as human beings, with the same inalienable rights as those possessed by men, are set forth in the literature of the movement.[1]

[1] Crow: *The American Country Girl.* Gardiner: *The Hope for Society.* Jacobi: *Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage.* Tarbell: *The Business of Being a Woman.*

The ideal of a normal life. No one is able, in a democracy, to formulate a clear definition of the goal of social effort or the exact aims of social progress. Democracy is unfinished. In a very real sense, it is an unfinishable social order, with the future always open before it. In any case, definitions are often empty things, meaning much or little, just as we choose. But we do feel, at times, the need for something to which to relate our thought and our energies — some aim or goal; some word or phrase. Democracy is a formless thing, especially in these days of world unrest, and it needs some means of answering its critics. There is one definition, or term, that seems to express it. It is the phrase, a "normal life." This phrase gives us a sense of balance and proportion. The normal life is not something that has been attained; at least, it has not been attained by many; but it is an ideal of democratic development which stimulates us all to growth. It is fully in harmony with the doctrines of evolution; it demands more complete education; it desires the realization of the good, the true, and the beautiful.[1]

The organization of a community. The World War emphasized the need for a common life and understanding in our communities, as it had never been emphasized before. The rapid growth of America and the scattering of pioneer families all over the great continent had broken down most of the old community life that men had known in Europe. Suddenly, we realized that the pioneering individualistic spirit, however indispensable it may have been in primitive times, was not adequate to the conditions of the twentieth century. Movements

[1] Devine: *The Normal Life.*

looking to the development of a more rounded community life are becoming numerous. Some emphasize the use of the schoolhouse as a community center; and this use of the school building is proving valuable in many communities. In other communities, regular "community houses" are being built, partly as war memorials, partly in response to the growing sense of community needs. In certain cities, notably in Cincinnati, community groups or neighborhoods have been organized on what is called the "social unit" plan. A particular neighborhood is developed by expert social leaders working in the fields of health, recreation, and play. All over the country, however, plans of community service have been developing. No one plan seems to fit every locality.[1]

(III) PROGRAMS OF INTERNATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Beyond and including these local and national social programs, we face the unfinished tasks of international adjustment and world peace. The World War is not yet over, either in its fighting or in its effects. Some one has said that we shall not know until about 1940 who really won the war; for we shall not know until then which nation really suffered most severely in its vital resources, and which came through with the largest capacity for quick and permanent readjustment in human vitality, economic resources, and productive power.

But, beyond the problems of national recovery, though closely wrapped up in them, lie the problems of an inter-

[1] Hart: *Community Organization*, especially the Appendix. Lindemann: *The Community*.

national order that can more securely guarantee the future peace of the world. Efforts in this direction have long been attempted. Recent efforts date from the organization of the Hague Conferences in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The Hague Peace Tribunals were once regarded as likely to be influential in preventing wars. But we know now that no single piece of machinery will prevent wars, in the presence of inflamed passions and with all the mechanisms of destruction ready at hand.

Fears of entangling responsibilities kept America out of the League of Nations in 1919–1920. The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, held in 1921–1922, demonstrated the fact that statesmanship that dares big things in the direction of peace will be as cordially supported by the peoples of the world as any old-time warlike statesmanship ever was.

The next decade will be filled with discussions of these problems of international adjustments. We cannot remain aloof from them. We must have a part in them. We had best have an intelligent part in them. Students of the social sciences must become students of international relationships, as well. Our local and national problems can be truly understood only in the light of their international relationships.

The future. In this book, we have surveyed the ranges of social problems in a preliminary way. We have seen many problems looming out of the past, continuing through the present, and growing into the future. Human life, in society, is made up of problems. The future of humanity is in the realm of problems. Old dogmatic traditions, customs, and habits; old attitudes

and answers; old formulæ — none of these will suffice today. We shall not do well to throw these things away merely because they are old; neither shall we do well to accept them merely because they are old. We have seen that many of them, at least, are purely accidental, having no justification for their existence beyond the fact that they do exist. The future can be made of traditions, customs, and habits, — by merely repeating unintelligently the structure of the past. It can be made of insubstantial visions, hopes, aspirations, and ideals — by denying all that the past has done. It can be made of substantial materials including all the good material that can be found in the past, and all the hopes and aspirations of the present. And the student of society today will be among the leaders and builders of society tomorrow, not merely because he has gone to school, but because he has a mind that can grapple with problems and work out the social solutions that the world needs.

APPENDIX A

Suggestions to Teachers

This book has been written to help students to understand the moving and active life of the world and of their own communities. It is not so much a book of information to be studied and recited upon, as it is a tool of suggestion and of social inquiry. It calls for an attitude of activity on the part of both teacher and student.

The author assumes that a year at least will be given to these social studies in high schools, normal schools, and junior colleges. Hence the book has been divided into two parts, corresponding to the two semesters, and the chapters are arranged with some regard to the number of weeks in each semester. Certain chapters, of course, will require but a few days' study; while others (for example, Chapter Twelve) may occupy a much longer period. Teachers will note that some of the chapters are primarily factual, intended for information; some are deliberate organizations of problems; some are almost wholly inspirational. The author hopes that these arrangements will be seen to be intentional. Each chapter will require a special treatment at the hands of the teacher.

A number of tasks present themselves to the teacher of social problems in the high school. First, he will wish all students to establish an interest in the study. For this reason the work of the course in some cases (and here the teacher's judgment must decide) might well begin with Chapters Ten or Twelve, rather than with Chapter One. If it seems more advisable to begin with *problems*, here are problems. We suggest that the teacher make a preliminary survey of the attitude and preparation of the class along the lines suggested by H. H. Moore, in the *Educational Review* for October, 1917 (pages 256–265). The facts disclosed by such

a survey will provide a basis for the organization of the course. Second, each student should early be helped to begin some definite piece of individual study to be carried on throughout the course. Such studies may be of at least three types: (1) in the books; (2) in the life and work of the community; (3) in the relationships of the student himself to life and work. Hence, we suggest that the teacher go carefully through this book and gather together such suggestions for special work and such directions for the gathering of special materials as seem applicable to the local situation; and make up an organized program with a list of possible problems for special study, including such problems as the following:

The problems of evolution, eugenics, heredity (i.e., sociology as related to biology).

The problems of the origins of social customs and institutions, and the changes that those customs and institutions have undergone (i.e., sociology as related to history).

The problems of the conservation of the soil and of other resources and the problems of rural life (i.e., sociology as related to agriculture).

The problems of improved techniques in industry, and of inventions, etc., and the effects of these on the organization of industry, and hence on the welfare of the people (i.e., sociology as related to physical science).

These are a few of the possible relationships of sociology to other branches of the work of the school. Some students will do their best work in following up some subject through books. Others will be interested in some actual social investigation. Still others will carry their sociology over into the science laboratories and ask for the meaning of science as related to human welfare.

Opportunities for many sorts of community projects are open everywhere, and the interest of members of the class should be turned in these directions. Some meetings of the

class may well be devoted to the discussion of the actual work and reports of these students. Such work will need adaptation to local conditions, and the part of the text to be emphasized by the teacher will vary accordingly. The suggested problems at the ends of chapters are to be used to get the students interested in their own communities. Students must begin where they are and gradually develop an understanding of the whole social structure in its historic backgrounds and its modern organization. The student must get *facts;* but he must also get *theories.* He really cannot get the one without the other. And out of both he must get *problems.* Real social study consists in getting hold of problems. And, rightly understood, he is the best teacher who is able to make problems appear where there was nothing but complacent ignorance before; and to make two problems grow where none or but one existed before. Answers are of no use, unless they answer problems. And they are worse than useless, if they are taken on before the problem arises. Hence, students must be helped to appreciate the significance and difficulty of problems; they must find their own problems. To this end, they must be permitted to criticize the social difficulties of the present and the various plans for social progress, submitting their criticisms to the class for criticism in return. That is to say, there must be real give and take in the course. The value of this procedure has been demonstrated over and over again in this field.

Certain chapters (notably Chapters Twelve and Thirteen) have been organized for the definite purpose of concentrating the attention of the class on getting hold of problems. We urge that such chapters first be read through as wholes, in order to get the "feel" of the problems, and that they then be broken into sections for such discussion, research, and debate as time will allow. It is not necessary to answer all the questions; indeed, many of them cannot be answered. The main thing is that questions should take the place of

complacent tradition in the student's mind. Chapter Sixteen presents no final list of questions, but we suggest that this chapter be made the basis of a review of the problems raised in the first part of the book, developing such problems and questions as the class may select. Members of the class should be stimulated to ask questions out of their own thinking, researches, observations, and the reading of books. The final chapters are put in problem form in order to make sure that students shall leave the course with the sense that there are real problems ahead of them in the world. Schools do a great disservice to pupils in filling them up with smooth answers to problems which have not yet been solved. Most schools cannot solve the problems ahead of the world. It is the business of the schools to assist students in getting hold of the problems that await them in the world.

Books and reading materials are necessary, for the pupil must learn to compare his own experiences with the experiences of other times, other places, other races. We do not offer complete lists of references. The book lists are varied, and contain much material not to be found in any one small library, though we hope that the suggestions are wide enough to make certain that any high school library will contain some of them. Teachers must add materials gleaned from local resources; and students must be stimulated to look far and wide for other materials. Not all these references should be used by all students. Judicious selections should be made. Further reference lists may be found in Corinne Bacon's *One Thousand Titles of the Most Representative and Useful Books on Social, Economic, and Educational Questions*, published by H. W. Wilson Company, New York.

Articles on practically all the subjects discussed in this book may be found in current periodicals. Consult *The Reader's Guide* for references. Certain sociological magazines should be made available for the class; for example, *The American Journal of Sociology*, though most of its materials are too

advanced; *The American City;* and, especially, *The Survey.* This latter magazine is a non-commercial enterprise devoted to the presentation and discussion of materials in the field of social problems. It carries a regular department of Social Studies through the school year. It is published in New York City. The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, the *Bulletins* of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, and the *Census Reports*, all contain valuable information concerning the continuously changing currents of social and economic events. Encyclopedias, including Bliss's *Cyclopedia of Social Reform*, should also be made available to the class.

In addition to these materials, some or all of the books on the list that follows should be secured as the basis of a sociological library for the school, and for those students who are prepared to do special work in particular subjects.

Bloomfield, Daniel: *Modern Industrial Movements* (readings), H. W. Wilson Company, New York

Bogardus, Emory S.: *Introduction to Sociology*, University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, California

Burch, H. R., and Patterson, S. H.: *American Social Problems*, The Macmillan Company, New York

Byington, Margaret: *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Community*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

Ellwood, Charles A.: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, American Book Company, New York

Fisher, Irving: *National Vitality*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Senate Document 676, 60th Congress, 2d session

Gillette, J. M.: *Rural Sociology*, Sturgis & Walton, New York

Hart, Joseph K.: *Community Organization*, The Macmillan Company, New York

Hayes, Edward C.: *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, D. Appleton & Co., New York

KELLEY, FLORENCE: *Modern Industry, Its Relation to the Family, Health, Education, and Morality*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York

MARSHALL, LEON C.: *Readings in Industrial Society*, University of Chicago Press

PARK, R. E., AND BURGESS, E. W.: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press

ROSS, EDWARD A.: *Social Control*, The Macmillan Company, New York

ROWE, HENRY K.: *Society, Its Origin and Development*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York

TOWNE, EZRA T.: *Social Problems*, The Macmillan Company, New York

TUFTS, JAMES H.: *The Real Business of Living*, Henry Holt & Co., New York

VOGT, P. L.: *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, D. Appleton & Company, New York

WOLFE, ALBERT B.: *Readings in Social Problems*, Ginn & Co., New York

APPENDIX B

The Field of Sociology

Students interested in further study in the field of sociology will find many valuable books available. Sociology, as a sort of general study of society, is not always clearly distinguishable from economics and politics. But, in general, the subject includes four distinct subdivisions:

1. *The origins and primitive developments of society*, which include (*a*) physical anthropology, or the study of the physical traits and characters of races and peoples; (*b*) anthropology and ethnology, the study of types of races and the forms of social organization among primitive peoples; and (*c*) folk psychology and folklore, the mental characters of primitive peoples and the remains of their old cultures and customs.

2. *Social psychology*, which deals with the interpretation of social conduct and of the activities of individuals and groups in terms of psychology. This includes the study of the psychology of races, crowds, and mobs; and, especially, the study of the impulsive and instinctive bases of human behavior wherever manifest.

3. *Modern social problems, their social meanings and interpretations*, which include (*a*) a wide array of social facts and questions that confront the world today; and (*b*) an array of general social theories, used by students as a means of understanding and classifying these problems.

4. *Applied sociology, or social technology*, which deals with the practical activities through which social workers (including all those who are interested in social progress) seek to eliminate community wastes and evils, to work out more adequate social programs, and to organize more effective social mechanisms for the achievement of those programs. At this point, sociology extends itself into fields of practical statesmanship, economic and industrial organization, the

reorganization of education, the significance of religion, and the whole program of "social work." The study of sociology is not complete within itself. It should lead the student out into practical fields and should help him to find a permanent share in some one, or more, of the great vocations and interests of life.

The following books will help the student to secure a more complete understanding of these various fields of sociological interest:

Bogardus, Emory S.: *Introduction to Sociology*, University of California Press, Los Angeles

Devine, E. T.: *Misery and Its Causes*, The Macmillan Company, New York

—— *Social Work*, The Macmillan Company, New York

Ellwood, Charles A.: *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, American Book Company, New York

Hayes, Edward C.: *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, D. Appleton & Co., New York

Ogburn, W. F.: *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, B. W. Huebsch, New York

Osborn, H. F.: *Men of the Old Stone Age*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York

Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W.: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Ross, E. A.: *Social Psychology*, The Macmillan Company, New York

Thomas, W. I.: *Source Book for Social Origins*, R. G. Badger, Boston

Trotter, W.: *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, The Macmillan Company, New York

Vogt, P. L.: *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, D. Appleton & Co., New York

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